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# HISTORY OF U-STEMS IN GREEK

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS  
AND LITERATURE IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

(DEPARTMENT OF SANSKRIT AND INDO-EUROPEAN COMPARATIVE PHILOLOGY)

BY

WILLIAM CYRUS GUNNERSON

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CHICAGO

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

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## INTRODUCTION: U-STEMS IN THE OTHER INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

The evidence of the Indo-European languages points to the existence in the parent speech of two distinct types of *u*-stems:

I. Stems in which *u* interchanges with *eu*, *ou*, as in *i*-stems *i* interchanges with *ei*, *oi*. Thus nom. sg. -*us*, Skt. *sūnūs*, L. *manus*, Goth. *sunus*, Lith. *sūnūs*, O.B. *synū*—gen. sg. -*eus*, -*ous*, Skt. *sūnós*, L. *manūs* (Osc. *castrous*), Goth. *sunaus*, Lith. *sūnaūs*, O.B. *synu*. These may be called simply *u*-stems.

II. Stems in which *ū* interchanges with *uū*, as in *ī*-stems *ī* interchanges with *īī*. Thus nom. sg. -*ūs*, Skt. *bhrūs*, *çvaçrūs*, *tanūs*, Grk. *ὄφρῦς*, L. *sūs*, O.B. *svekry*—gen. sg. -*uūos*, -*uūes*, Skt. *bhruvās*, (Vedic) *tanūtas* (*tanvās*), Grk. *ὄφρῦος*, O.B. *svekrūve*. These may be called *ū*-stems.

It has been held by some (e. g., Bezzenberger, B.B. 7 [1883], 73; Joh. Schmidt, Plur. 54 ff.; Johansson, K.Z. 30 [1890], 403 ff., Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 741 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1891], 382, 449; Reichelt, B.B. 25 [1899], 240) that there is another I.E. type of *u*-stems in which there is interchange of *ū* with *uā*, parallel to the interchange of *ī* (*īā*) with *īā* (*īē*) in the type represented by Skt. *devī*, *bhārantī*, Grk. *φέρουσα*, etc. In considering the Sanskrit evidence, we may, with Lanman (Noun Inflection in the Veda), let A = the short *i* (or *u*) type, B the *ī*- *īā*- (*devī*) type, C the *ī*- *īī*- (or *ū*- *uū*-, *nadīs*) type. In the Veda the types B and C of *ī*-stems are distinct in eleven case-forms, while they agree in three. In classical Sanskrit both types have been merged, and their common declension follows Vedic B in eight out of the eleven cases where differences existed between B and C in Vedic. There are some few examples of this transfer in the Veda (Lanman, p. 373), and numerous examples of the transfer of A to B (67 forms from 27 stems). In seven of these eight cases the classical declension of *u*-stems differs in precisely the same manner from the Vedic type C, and a very few forms of this kind are also found in Vedic (Lanman, p. 404). It is on this ground that J. Schmidt assumes the existence of a type B of *ū*-stems, parallel to the type *devī*. But whereas in the case of *ī*-stems, there is in Vedic, aside from all examples of transfer from A or C, a full declensional type B followed by a large class of words, there is no such independent type of *ū*-stems. The classical declension of *ū*-stems and the scattering forms of this type in the Veda

may perfectly well be attributed to the direct analogy of type B of *i*-stems, as already explained by Lanman, p. 401. Add to this that at no period is there a nom. sg. in *-ū* parallel to that in *-ī*, and there is every reason for abiding by the judgment of Lanman, Whitney, and others that there is no evidence in Sanskrit for a type of *ū*-stems parallel to that of *devī*. In fact the conditions in the Veda are so difficult to reconcile with the existence of such a type in the parent speech, that this can be admitted only on the most cogent evidence from the other languages.

But while the *devī*-type of *i*-stems is represented by important categories in other languages, especially the feminines of the present participle and other consonant stems in Greek, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic, the advocates of a corresponding type of *ū*-stems have brought forward only a few scattered forms, none of which is at all decisive. Most of these are from the Greek,<sup>1</sup> where, since we have nom. sg. in *-ia* = Skt. *-ī*, we should expect nom. sg. *-fa* for the corresponding *ū*-stems.

The principal example is *πρέσβα*, derived from *\*πρεσβῆᾱ* (or *\*πρεσγῆᾱ*) by Bezenberger, B.B. 7 (1883), 73; Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890, article written 1888), 403; J. Schmidt, Plur. 57 (1889, written about 1883); Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1891), 382, 449; Schulze, Q.E. 448 (1891); Reichelt, B.B. 25 (1899), 240, following Johansson. Neisser, B.B. 20 (1894), 52, gets *πρέσβα* from *\*πρεσβῆῶα*. Grassmann, K.Z. 11 (1862), 24, took *πρέσβα* from *\*πρέσβῶα*. Misteli, K.Z. 17 (1868), 171, gave *πρέσβα* as equal to *\*πρεσβῆῶα*. Misteli's view, also held by some of the ancient grammarians (Etym. Mag. 687, 3; Bekker, A.G. 2, 391, 519), is out of the question. There is no phonetic difficulty in Grassmann's suggestion, but *πρέσβα* could come equally well from *\*πρεσβῆῶα*, and be thus counted a fem. to *πρέσβυς* of the type of Skt. *ācvi*. J. Schmidt objects to this on the ground that Skt. adjectives with more than one consonant before the *u* have their fem. in *-ū* and not in *-vī*. But this is not universal in Sanskrit, where, e. g., *phalgū-* has both *phalgū* and *phalgvī* as fem. (Whit. 344, b). And even if mainly true, it is obvious that the type *-vī* was of unrestricted application in Greek, since its representative *-εῖα* is the only type of fem. adj. known. He objects further that the form *\*πρεσβῆῶα* ought to have been displaced by *\*πρεσβεῶα* as *\*āḍḍḍa* = Skt. *svādvī* was displaced by *īḍḍa*, etc. But *πρέσβα* is found only in Homer, and there in a sense ("august" not "old") which shows that it was isolated from *πρέσβυς*, which is itself used only as a substantive and is indeed not used at all in Homer. There was no such feeling of relation as between ordinary adj. forms such as *ἡδύς* and *ἡδέα*. Moreover, for an undoubted example of

<sup>1</sup> For example, one of the chief advocates of the type (Johansson, K.Z. 30 [1890], 423) says: "Ausser *i-īā*-stämmen sind von der klasse B nur spärlich reste und eigentlich nur im gr. bowahrt." And J. Schmidt, Plur. 75, says: "... ausserhalb des indischen und griechischen lassen sich die in letzterem am schärfsten auseinander gehaltenen stämme . . . ."

-*φια* not replaced by -*εφια*, even where there was no isolation in meaning, cf. *πολλή* from \**πολφια* according to the explanation of Schulze, Q.E. 82, now universally accepted. Another example is *πέλλα* derived by Johansson from \**πελφα*, but this must rather come from \**πέλφια* as suggested by J. Schmidt, Plur. 48, footnote. So also from \**πέλφια*, Schulze, Q.E. 82 ff.; Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 45. Under no circumstances does λφ give λλ. An example on which Johansson, 406, lays much stress is *ἱγννα*, Hom. *ἱγνύη* beside *ἱγνύς*. He supposes that *ἱγννα* is the original form and that *ἱγνύη* got its η from the oblique cases. Yet here the short final rests on the testimony of grammarians (e. g., Bekker, A.G. 1382), while *ἱγνύη* is in good use. Johansson, 404, gives the Hom. fem. adjs. *ώκέα*, *βαθέα* and the regular Ionic *βραχέα*, *ταχέα*, as from -*ευᾶ* (-*ū*), Grk. -*εφα*, and not from -*εφια*. He has the same explanation for *Ῥέα* beside *Ῥεᾶ*. But -*εα* for -*εια*, though not so common as in Attic (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, 40, 12), is well known in Ionic, both from inscriptional and manuscript evidence (Hoffmann, G.D. 3, 528 ff.; Smyth, Ionic 197 ff.), and it is altogether unlikely that *ώκέα*, etc., in spite of their antiquity, are anything different. (See below, p. 59.) J. Schmidt, Plur. 58, takes the Hom. acc. sg. fem. *αἰπήν* as the fem. to *αἰπύς*, for \**αἰπᾶν* from \**αἰπφαν*, with η from the gen., dat. sg. So also, p. 47, he takes Hom. *αἰπά* from \**αἰπφα* a neuter pl. to *αἰπύς*. Schulze, Q.E. 442, agrees with Schmidt on *αἰπά*, but would read with Nauck *πόλιν αἰπύν* for *πόλιν αἰπήν*. A neuter pl. *αἰπά* from \**αἰπφα*, which does not prove the existence of a corresponding fem. form (see below, p. 8), may as an apparent *o*-stem form have given rise to *αἰπήν*, if we retain this reading, but there is also the possibility that both are simply isolated forms of an inherited *αἰπός* beside *αἰπύς*. *ἄκανθα* is said by J. Schmidt, p. 58, to be from \**ἄκανθφα*. So also Johansson, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 751. It may be an instance of the neuter pl. used as a fem. with Grk. -*ᾶ* from original -*α*; cf. *ἄκανθος*, *ό*. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 424, did not put it under instances of -*φα*, though he was in doubt as to its explanation. The history of *θ*-suffixes in general is too obscure (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 204) to allow the use of *ἄκανθα* as evidence for the suffix. *ἑάων* is given by Schmidt, p. 58, as a gen. pl. of *ἑύς* with the same suffix that he assumes for *πρέσβα*. The form is isolated as a fem., no other cases than the gen. pl. being found. It occurs a few times in Epic poetry, always in a substantive use, in the sense of "good things." The word *ἑύς ἑῆος* is anomalous and the history of the form *ἑάων ἑάων* is involved in doubt. Cf. K.B. § 103, 9. Johansson, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 744, pronounces the example entirely uncertain. Schmidt gives *ἑέρσα* (Hdn. 2. 87, 33) and *ἄερσαν*· *τὴν δρόσον Κρήτες* (Hesych.) as probably from \**ἄφερσφαν*, saying that *ἑέρσῃν* cannot be taken as equivalent. The short final rests on the testimony of Herodian and Hesychius, except that Pindar, Nem. 3, 78, has *ἑέρσ'* *ἀμφέπει*. The Thesaurus prints *ἄερσαν* without comment, citing only Hesychius. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 418, takes this word with

short final as an *s*-stem with the suffix *-ǎ*, which he sets up as the fem. formation for various stems. In Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 744, he calls it an entirely uncertain example of the *-fa* suffix. Both Schmidt and Johansson assume the identity of the neuter pl. with the fem. sg. in the nominative, and bring into account forms like γούνα, δοῦρα, δάκρυα. The last may well be simply the regular plural of δάκρυον. In the case of γούνα and δοῦρα the *-a* is undoubtedly the same as the *-a* (Skt. *-i*, orig. *-ə*) of consonant stems, no matter whether \*γονφα, etc., arose in Greek after the analogy of consonant stems, as assumed by Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 235, or whether they have simply retained an ending *-uə* or *-uə* in an uncontracted form in contrast to Sanskrit *-ū*. (Cf. Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 382.) But of all the neuter plural endings, *-ə* is the one for which there is least proof of identity with a nom. sg. fem. And forms in *-fa*, even if inherited, no more prove the existence of a nom. sg. fem. in *-fa*, than do forms of *n*-stems in *-vǎ* (Skt. *-ni*) prove the existence of a fem. type in *-vǎ*, Skt. *-ni*, etc.

J. Schmidt, Plur. 46, 47, also considers adverbs like τάχα, ὦκα, λίγα, κάρτα as evidence for the suffix *-fa*. These adverbs clearly must stand or fall together, and, as Schulze, Q.E. 82, points out, the form κάρτα cannot come from \*κάρτφα, as shown by forms like τέσσαρες, ἄλεισον, σείω, σορός with σσ, σ from τρ. He takes such adverbs rather as closely connected with neuters like τάχος, κάρτος, \*ῶκος (in ποδώκης), etc. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 407–409, attempts to show that ἐκνρά, ἀδελφή, οἰσύνā, ριτέā, πτελέā originally had the suffix *-fǎ*. It should be evident that such words as these do not constitute evidence in favor of a suffix *-fǎ*. In Johansson's review of Schmidt's Pluralbildungen, Gött. gel. Anz., 1890, 741 ff., the few additional examples cited are too uncertain to affect the result. He gives, for example, αἰā as a fem. to Skt. *āyu-*, p. 751, and L. *silva* as a fem. to a *u*-stem \**sulu-*, p. 752.

Schmidt, Plur. 61–75, seeks to trace the type also in other languages than Greek and Sanskrit, but has no convincing examples. For instance, in Latin he gives *anguilla* to ἔγχελυς, *lingua* to O.B. *języ-kǔ* as examples of this suffix. These are also given independently by Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 425. There is nothing to prevent taking these words, however, as original *ā*-stems. Here, as in the Greek, the possibility of deriving at least some of the examples given from a suffix *-fa*, if such a suffix were otherwise proved, is admitted, but in the absence of outside proof, the necessity of such derivation is denied.

With regard to the Proto-Indo-European conditions out of which the I.E. types I and II arose, see especially Hirt, Akzent, §§ 229 ff., 233 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 325 ff., especially 331 ff. Whatever their origin, it is obvious that the types as

given were fully established in the I.E. period, and form the only safe starting point for a historical study.

It is not intended to include in the scope of this dissertation the history of Greek diphthongal *u*-stems, like *Zeús*, *βοῦς*, *ἥρως*, and the large class in *-εὐς*. It is true that among the numerous explanations of nouns in *-εὐς* there are some which treat them as historically connected with the simple *u*-stems of Type I. Thus Kretschmer in his earlier explanation, K.Z. 31 (1892), 330 f. and 466, regarded the diphthongal stems as a second class of *u*-stems with the nom. and acc. sg. also in the strong grade, comparing Greek nouns in *-εὐς* with the O. Pers. *dahyāuš*, etc. This is also the view of Bartholomae, Ar. Forsch. I, 34; Iran. Grd. I, 190, 1. In his later explanation, Zeitschrift f. öst. Gym. 53 (1902), 711 ff., Kretschmer suggests that the substantives in *-εὐς* are partly derivatives from verbs in *-εὔω*, partly (names of persons) original *u*-stems with vocative in *-εὔ* and nominative in *-εὐς* after the vocative. Reichelt, B.B. 25 (1899), 238 ff., thinks there was originally one type of *u*-stem with strong grade of suffix in nom. and loc. sg. as in *n*- and *r*-stems, and that in the parent speech, through differences in accent, there arose by leveling the two classes of diphthongal and simple *u*-stems. Other explanations do not connect so closely with simple *u*-stems. Brugmann, I.F. 9 (1898), 365 ff., holds that nouns like *φορεὺς* arose from participles (verbal adjs.) in *-η-φ(o)*- which belonged to verbs in *-εω*. Ehrlich, K.Z. 38 (1902), 53 ff., considers the suffix *-ηφ-* a combination of two elements: the lengthened final of a nominal *o*-stem (*ίππη-: ίππο-*) and the secondary suffix *-ues-* *-uos-* in its weakest form. But, whatever their true origin, they form a distinct class in Greek, the history of which is a subject by itself and need not necessarily be combined with the history of *u*-stems in the more limited sense.

## I. U-STEMS

### A. NOUNS

#### I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *u*-declension of nouns is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan (in O. Pers. some forms of the plural are wanting), Greek, Latin (in Osc.-Umbr. some forms are wanting), Gothic, Lithuanian, and

Old Bulgarian, and to a certain extent in a more or less disguised form in Armenian and Celtic. It is largely preserved in Old Norse, and more limitedly, in words with short stem-syllable, in West Germanic. (Cf. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Gram.*, § 228.)

## II. TRANSFER OF *u*-STEMS TO OTHER DECLENSIONS

In Latin the identity of the nom. sg. of *u*- and *o*-stems led to the gradual transfer of *u*-stems to *o*-stems in Late Latin, and in the Romance languages this change has become complete. (Meyer-Lübke, 2, 4; Gröber, *Grd.* 1, 369.) An early example of this change in classical Latin is seen in *domus*.

So in O. Bulg. the identity of the nom., acc. sg., and acc. pl. of *o*- and *u*-stems led to the frequent transfer to *o*-stem forms in other case-endings (see Scholvin, *Archiv f. slav. Phil.* 2 [1877], 506 ff., for statistics), and in the modern Slavic languages the *o*- and *u*-stems are completely merged. See below, IV. (Oblak, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* 13 [1891], 25; 11 [1888], 408.)

For Germanic no general statement can be made. In West Germanic *u*-stems with long stem-syllable lost their identity as *u*-stems and went over to other declensions, e. g., in O.H.G. mostly to the *i*-stems, but in part also to the *o*-stems, in O.E. mostly to the *o*-stems. Isolated instances of transfer to consonant stems perhaps occur. (Cf. Kluge, *Paul's Grd.* 1, 458.)

A partial transfer is that of *ju*-stems in Lithuanian, which have only *jo*-stem forms in the dual and plural, except that in the instr. pl. the *ju*-stem form sometimes occurs; *jo*-stem forms also appear in the nom. sg. dialectically, and in the acc. sg. in Old Lithuanian. Leskien (*Nomina* 327) gives as the reason the identity of form in several case-endings of the dual and plural of the *jo*- and *ju*-stems, and the parallelism of function between the suffixes *-jo*- and *-ju*-.

## III. TRANSFER IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO *u*-STEMS OF WORDS BELONGING ORIGINALLY TO OTHER STEMS

Kluge (*Paul's Grd.* 1, 458) gives Goth. *fotus*, *handus*, *tunpus*, *wintrus*, O.N. *gru*, *björn*, O.E. *duru*, *nosu* as original consonant stems. The starting point for the transfer was given by the identity of the acc. sg., acc. pl., and dat. pl. of cons. stems and *u*-stems. But the special occasion was, in some at least, semasiological kin-

ship with inherited *u*-stems. (See Bloomfield, A.J.P. 12 [1891], 13.) Gothic *broþar*, *lauhtar*, *swistar*, *faðar* have the *u*-decl. in all cases of the plural except the genitive. Here *sunus* was no doubt a factor. Greek masculines in *-os* are declined as *u*-stems in the singular in Gothic, but in the plural mainly as *i*-stems.

#### IV. INSTANCES OF *u*-STEM FORMS WITHIN OTHER DECLENSIONS

The most striking example is in the Slavic. Even in O. Bulg. within the *o*-decl. *u*-stem forms were common, being found, beside the true *o*-stem forms, in all the cases where *u*- and *o*-stems differed, except the voc. sg., nom.-acc., and gen.-loc. dual. The most frequent (in their order) are: dat. sg. *-ovi*, gen. pl. *-ovŭ*, instr. sg. *-ŭmŭ*, and nom. pl. *-ove*. (See Scholvin, Arch. f. sl. Phil. 2 [1877], 491 ff., for statistics.) In modern Slavic the *o*- and *u*-declensions are completely merged in a single type with various proportions of *o*-stem and *u*-stem forms in the several languages, but always with a strong admixture of the latter. Thus the *u*-stem form is well-nigh universal in the gen. pl. (Arch. 8 [1885], 239; 12 [1890], 33, 35 ff.), and is widespread in the dat. sg. (except in Slovenian, where it is rare, Oblak, Arch. 11 [1888], 524), and nom. pl. (Arch. 12 [1890], 14 f.; 8 [1885], 235). In the gen. and loc. sg. the *u*- and *o*-stem forms appear side by side in most Slavic languages, sometimes with a distinction in use between animate and inanimate objects. In Slovenian especially there has been an extension of the *-ov-* to the dat. and loc. pl. (Arch. 12 [1890], 368, 397; 8 [1885], 244). *u*-stem forms are also found to a much more limited extent in other stems than *o*-stems. The reason for the extension is to be sought in the clear and distinctive character of those *u*-stem endings which most prevailed. For example, the gen. pl. of *o*-stems was like the nom. sg. and it was natural that it should be displaced by the far more distinctive *-ovŭ*.

Lithuanian agent-nouns in *-tojis* (*jo*-stems) have *u*-stem voc. sg. in *-au*, and occasionally gen. sg. in *-aus*. *Brolis*, a *jo*-stem, has voc. *brolaũ*, probably after the analogy of *sũnaũ* (Brückner, Arch. f. Sl. Phil. 3 [1879], 255). So in O. Bulg. the voc. sg. of *jo*-stems is a *u*-stem form. Umbrian cons. stems have the *u*-stem endings in the dat.-abl. pl. (Buck, Osc.-Umbr. Gr. 126). Umbrian

*Trebo*, *Fiso* show a transfer from the *o*-stem to the *u*-stem form (Buck, *loc. cit.*, 117). The loc. sg. of Skt. *i*-stems has the ending *-āu* apparently from the *u*-stems. (Cf. Meringer, B.B. 16 [1890], 224; Hirt, I.F. 1 [1892], 226; Bartholomae, I.F. 10 [1899], 12; Reichelt, B.B. 25 [1899], 244.) Compare Latin *noctū* after *diū* (Bartholomae, I.F. 10 [1899], 13).

#### V. SUFFIXES

*Suffix*<sup>1</sup> *-u-* *substantives*.—This suffix forms nouns in all the eight I.E. branches, except, perhaps, Albanian. Its formations are not numerous in any language except Sanskrit, where there is a fairly large number. Less than twenty are cited for Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 239), still fewer for O. Bulg. (Scholvin, *Arch. f. sl. Phil.* 2 [1877], 508 f.; Leskien, *Hdbch.* 67), very few for Celtic (Stokes, B.B. 11 [1886], 76 f.), and in Latin and Gothic there is no considerable number. In Sanskrit the accent of neuters is regularly on the root-syllable, and the evidence of the Greek (*γόνυ*, *δόρυ*, etc.) shows that this was the I.E. accent for neuter *u*-stems. Masculines and feminines in Sanskrit are accented either on the root-syllable or suffix. The Lithuanian examples have prevailing suffix accent. Gothic *haidus* (Skt. *ketū-*), *sidus* point to suffix accent. All grades of the root are found. The formations are of all genders in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Latin, masculine in Germanic, Lithuanian, and Slavic. (In the last two all *u*-stem nouns of whatever suffix are masculine.) No specific meaning attaches to the suffix *-u-*, but its formations rarely, if ever, have the force of *nomina actionis*.

The only case where there seems to be any possibility of connecting the suffix with a distinct semasiological category is that of words for parts of the body. There is a considerable number of such, and possibly a partial "adaptation," such as noted in Gothic (see p. 10) is also to be recognized for the I.E. period. Examples are: Skt. *jānu-* n. "knee," etc.; Skt. *bāhū-* m. f. "arm," etc.; Skt. *hānu-* f. "chin," etc. (see below); Skt. *sānu-* m. n. "back." Cf. also L. *manus* f.

<sup>1</sup> Here and elsewhere the term suffix is used without any implication that the formative elements so designated are in all cases really additions to the root. In some cases the same element appears in verb-forms, and may be regarded as a part of the root or base. But when such an element has once become productive it is impossible to draw any sharp line between forms in which it belongs to the root and those in which it does not. As a matter of fact in the great majority of words these elements, whatever their origin, are actually suffixes in the older sense of the term. But certain obvious cases like Skt. *bhū-*s are commonly designated as root-nouns.



Examples:<sup>1</sup> Skt. *āyu-* n. "life," *āyū-* m. "living being," Av. *āyu-* n. "duration," Grk. *αἰών*, L. *aevum*, Goth. *aiws* "time;" Skt. *jānu-* n. "knee," Av. *zanva*,<sup>2</sup> pl. "knees," Grk. *γόνυ*, L. *genū* n., Goth. *kniu* n. "knee," Eng. *knee*; Skt. *dāru-* n. "piece of wood," *drū-* n. "wood," Av. *dā<sup>u</sup>ru-* n. "piece of wood," *dru-* n. "wood," Grk. *δόνυ* n., O. Ir. *daur* n. "oak," Goth. *triu* n. "tree," Lith. *dervà* f. "resinous wood," O.B. *drēvo* n. "tree;" Skt. *pāṇu-* n. *paṇū-* m. "cattle," Av. *pasu-* m. "cattle," L. *pecus pecu*, Umbr. *pequo* "pecua," Goth. *faithu* n. "money," Eng. *fee*, O. Lith. *pekus* m. "cattle" (with *k*); Skt. *bāhū-* m. f. "arm," Av. *bāzu-* m. "arm" (nom. *bāzāuš*), Grk. *πῆχυς*, O.H.G. *buog* "bend," O.N. *bogr* "bend;" Skt. *mādhu-* n. (Ved.) "mead," (class.) "honey," Av. *maḍu-* n. "honey," Grk. *μέθυ* n., O. Ir. *mid* n. "mead," O.H.G. *meto* "mead," Eng. *mead*, Lith. *medūs* m. "honey," O.B. *medū* m. "honey;" Skt. *hānu-* f. "chin," Grk. *γένυς* f., L. *genu-īnus*, O. Ir. *giun* m. "mouth," Goth. *kinnus* f. "chin," Eng. *chin*.

*Suffix -tu- substantives.*—This suffix, like *-u-*, appears in all the eight I.E. branches, except, perhaps, Albanian. It forms chiefly or perhaps entirely *nomina actionis*. The few words with the force of *nomina agentis* like Skt. *māntu-* "counsellor," Goth. *hliftus* "thief," no doubt originally had the force of *nomina actionis*. Compare Skt. *māntu-* "counsel" with the developed meaning seen in *māntu-* "counsellor." An important division of the *nomina actionis* in *-tu-* is that of the verbal abstracts (infinitives and supines). In Sanskrit the infinitives of this formation constitute the great mass of words with the suffix *-tu-*, being formed at will from any root. This is true of the supines in Latin, Lithuanian, and Slavic, and, in Celtic, infinitives formed with original suffix *-tu-* are not infrequent. In this use in verbal abstracts the suffix *-tu-* is not found in Iranian or Germanic. In the formation of substantives other than infinitives or supines,

<sup>1</sup> In the citation of examples no attempt is made to show the relative number of existing forms in the different languages. Preference is given to words with cognate *u*-stems in other languages, and to those whose derivation seems clear. Sanskrit and Avestan words are given in the stem form. The precise phonetic equivalence of words cited as cognates is not assumed.

<sup>2</sup> Brugmann, Grd. I<sup>2</sup>, 555, and others cite an Av. *zānu-*, but the only form extant is the acc. pl. *zanva*, Yt. I, 27, which as a *u*-stem form would be isolated in Avestan (cf. Jackson, Av. Gr. § 268), but would be regular if from a *yo*-stem. Hence it is hardly safe to assign to Avestan the *u*-stem form *zānu-*. Mod. Pers., however, has *zānū* "knee."

*-tu-* is used to form a fair number of words in Sanskrit, several in Avestan, a few in Celtic, less than half a dozen in Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 564), perhaps but one in O. Bulgarian, many in Latin, and many in Germanic, especially in extensions of the suffix *-tu-*. (See below.)

In Sanskrit the accent of infinitives, when simple, is on the root-syllable, and this holds good also for most of the other Sanskrit stems in *-tu-*. In Lithuanian the accent varies, but the material is too scanty to permit generalization. Lithuanian supines have the accent on the root-syllable. In Germanic, Gothic *daupus*, *friþus*, *wulþus* with others point to root accent, and the words in *-opu-* to accent not on the suffix, while Goth. *flodus* with others, and the words in *-odu-* point to suffix accent. Greek nouns in *-τυς* are mainly oxytone. In Sanskrit the strong (guna) grade of root is regular, but the weak and strengthened grades appear (Whit., § 1161). Latin has both strong and weak grades (Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* 548). In Germanic, Goth. *pūhtus* m. "conscience" to *þugkjan*, *kustus* m. "proof" to *kiusan* among others show a weak grade of root. The strong grade appears in *leiþu* n. "cider," I.E. root *lei*. In Lithuanian supines the strong grade was original, but the weak has often entered through the influence of the infinitives (Wiedemann, *Hdbch.* 123). O. Bulgarian supines have the infinitive stem, and this varies, being both strong and weak. In Sanskrit the words are of all genders, but chiefly masculine, masculine in Latin, masculine in Gothic with perhaps a few exceptions, while in West Germanic there has been a movement to the feminine of other abstracts. Greek nouns in *-τυς* are fem. with one exception.

Examples: Skt. *pītū-* m. "food, drink," Av. *pītū-* m. "food," Grk. *πίτυς* f. "pine," O. Ir. *ith* m. "grain," Lith. *pētūs* pl. "noon, midday meal," Skt. *sūtu-* f. "birth, pregnancy," O. Ir. *suth* n. "fetus," Av. *pəšū-* m. "ford," L. *portus* m., O.H.G. *furt*, "ford," Eng. *ford*; L. *gustus* m., Skt. *ī/juṣ* "enjoy," Goth. *kustus* m. "test, proof," L. *vultus* m., Goth. *wulþus* m. "glory," O. Ir. *recht* n. "right," O.N. *rēttir* m. "right," Goth. *leiþu* n. "cider," Lith. *lytūs* m. "rain," *ī/lei* "pour."

In Latin the suffix is very productive, there being 99 sub-

stantives in *-tus* or *-sus* in Plautus, and nearly 700 in all writers up to the time of Hadrian. In the form *-ātu-* the suffix becomes productive in words denoting offices and official bodies, as *consulātus*, *magistrātus*, *senātus*, etc. (see Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* 548, and for *-ātu-* also Bloomfield, *A.J.P.* 12 [1891], 26). In Germanic the widest influence of the *tu*-suffix is seen in the form (Goth.) *-assus*, *-inassus*, (Eng.) *-ness*, starting from verbs in (Goth.) *-atjan*. (Cf. Grk. *-άζω*.) This suffix is very frequent in Germanic, Old Norse alone being without it. Possibly in its later forms outside of Gothic other suffixes than *-tu-* played a part (Wilmanns, *Deutsche Gr.* 2, 355), but the Gothic forms show that at least in the beginning the suffix was a *tu*-suffix. (For the suffix as a whole see von Bahder, *Verbalabstrakta* 109 ff.)

*Suffix -iu- substantives.*—This forms nouns in Sanskrit, Iranian, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian. It is rare except in Lithuanian, where its numerous formations include primary *nomina actionis* and both primary and secondary *nomina agentis*. In Sanskrit and Avestan there are both *nomina actionis* and *nomina agentis*. In Sanskrit the accent varies, in Lithuanian it is never on the suffix. The gender is masculine in Sanskrit and Lithuanian, masc. and fem. in Avestan and Germanic. The suffix is clearly Indo-Iranian, and probably Indo-European, though there is no conclusive evidence for the latter.

Examples: Skt. *dásyu-* m. a demon; Av. *dahyu-* f. "country, nation," O.P. *dahyu-* f. (nom. *dahyāuš*) "province, district;" Skt. *manyu-* m. "mind," Av. *ma'nyu-* m. "spirit;" Skt. *mṛtyu-* m. "death," Av. *mər̥θyu-* m. "death," perhaps Armen. *marh mah* "death," Hübschmann, *Armen. Gr.* 472; Lith. *gỹrius* m. "renown," *gĩrti* "celebrate;" Lith. *stẽgius* m. "roofer," *stẽgti* "cover;" Lith. *bãsius* m. "barefooted one," *bãsas* "barefooted." For the numerous Lithuanian examples see Leskien, *Nomina*.

*Suffix -nu- substantives.*—This is rare in any language. It forms nouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Germanic, Lithuanian (one example), and Old Bulgarian. The gender varies. In Sanskrit the accent is usually on the ending (except neuters, which have root-accent), and the root has the weak grade as a rule. The Avestan suffix *-snu-* (Jackson, *Av. Gr.*,

§ 807) is simply an extension of *-nu-*, originating without doubt in words where *s* was part of the original stem.

Examples: Skt. *dānu-* n. "drop, dew," Av. *dānu-* n. "river;" Skt. *dhenū-* f. "cow," Av. *daēnu-* f. "cow," Skt.  $\sqrt{dhā}$  "suck;" Skt. *bhānū-* m. "light," Av. *bānu-* m. "light, ray;" Skt. *sūnū-* m. "son," Av. *hunu-* m. "son," Goth. *sunus* m. "son," Lith. *sūnūs* m. "son," O.B. *synū* m. "son;" Goth. *paūrnus* m. "thorn," O.B. *trīnū* m. "thorn," Skt. *tṛṇa-* m. "blade of grass." Latin examples are: *sinus* m., *pinus* f. (also *o*-stem), *cornū* n., and perhaps *manus* f.

*Suffix -ru- substantives.*—This is very rare in any language. It forms nouns in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian. It is doubtful in Latin (except in *lacruma*) and Old Bulgarian. Its forms are neuter in Sanskrit (except *çātru-* "enemy") and Avestan, masculine in Germanic and Lithuanian.

Examples: Skt. *āçru-* n. "tear," Av. *asru-* "tear": Grk. *δάκρυ* n., L. *lacruma* *dacruma*; Skt. *çātru-* m. "enemy": Grk. *κότος*, but the suffix may be *-tru-* not *-ru-*.

In Latin the suffix is possibly seen in *tonitrus*, and is certain only in the extended *lacru-ma*. In Lithuanian (Leskien, *Nomina* 440) the suffix is perhaps only a variant beside *-ra-*. In Old Bulgarian Miklosich, 2, 53, gives *darū* "gift," and *mirū* "peace, world," but neither is given by Leskien, *Hdbch.* 67, or Scholvin, *Arch. f. slav. Phil.* 2 (1877), 508 f.

*Suffix -gu- substantives.*—This is apparently the suffix of Lithuanian *žmogūs* "man" (Leskien, *Nomina* 524), and with it has been compared the *-γυ-* in Cretan, *πρέιγυς*, etc. (cf. Brug., *Grd.* 2, 261). Another possible example is Av. *driṣu-* "poor," perhaps related to Skt. *dāridra-* m. "beggar, stroller,"  $\sqrt{drā}$  "run." Giles, *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 25–27 (1891), 14 f., takes L. *augur* from *au-* (= *avi-*) and the same suffix as in *πρέσ-βυς*, Skt. *vanargu-* "wandering in the forest," Lith. *žmogūs*; so also Stolz, *Hist. Gr.* 156. Otherwise Zimmermann, *Rh.M.* 55 (1900), 486.

Other, rare, suffixes containing *u* are: *-āku-* (Skt., Whit., § 1181, *d*); *-mu-* (Av. *gar<sup>m</sup>mu-* m. "heat"); *-su-* (Skt., Lindner, *Nominalbildung*, § 97); *-thu-* (Skt. and Av., Whit. § 1164;

Jackson, Av. Gr., § 794); *-tru-* (Skt., Whit., § 1185, *g*); *-vanu-* (Skt., Whit., § 1170, *c*); Lith. *-iszius-*, *-orius-* borrowed from Slavic (Leskien, Nomina 599, 447); *-szu-* variant of *-sza-* in Lithuanian (Leskien, 598); *-lu-* only in Lithuanian (Leskien, 470).

## B. ADJECTIVES

### I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *u*-declension of adjectives is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan, and Greek. Old Persian has one *u*-stem adjective with a few forms. Gothic has the nom. sg. masc. and fem. and the nom.-acc. neuter. The genitive is represented by *filans*. Lithuanian *u*-stem adjectives have the *u*-stem forms always in the nom.-acc. sg., and nom. pl., but in the definite adjectives only in the nom.-acc. sg.

### II. TRANSFER TO OTHER DECLENSIONS

In Latin the *u*-stem adjectives have gone over to the *i*-stems, Skt. *tanū-*, L. *tenuis*. A very few may have become *o*-stems, Skt. *cāru-*, L. *cārus* (cf. Stolz, Hist. Gr. 456). The only relics of *u*-stem adjectives seem to be *acu-*, in *acu-pedius* (Festus), and *īdūs*. There are no *u*-stem adjectives in Oscan-Umbrian.

In Gothic all cases except those named above have gone over to the *jo*-stems. The transfer in Germanic outside of Gothic has also been in the main to the *o*-, *jo*-stems.

In Lithuanian, except in the cases named above, the *jo*-stem forms are used, save that in the instr. sg. (dialectically and in Old Lithuanian), gen. sg., and instr. pl., *u*-stem forms are also found. In the definite adjectives all cases except the nom.-acc. sg. are of the *jo*-stem form.

In Slavic *u*-stem adjectives have been transferred to the *o*-stems or have been extended by added suffixes.

### III. TRANSFER IN WHOLE OR IN PART TO *u*-STEMS OF WORDS BELONGING ORIGINALLY TO OTHER STEMS

Brugmann, Grd. 2, 724, gives Skt. *perū-m* to *perūs* "passing through," *jigyābhis* to *jigyūs* "victorious," Av. *jagāurūm* to *jagāurūs* "watchful" as instances of transfer from the perfect active participle (weak stem *-us*) to *u*-stems.

In Lithuanian there is frequent transfer of *o*-stem adjectives to *u*-stems, the forms in *-as* and *-us* often appearing side by side in the same word.

#### IV. FORMATION OF THE FEMININE

The fem. of *u*-stem adjectives is formed in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Germanic, and Lithuanian by the addition of the suffix *-ī* *-īā*. In Sanskrit, however, it could also be formed with *ū* by transfer to the *ū*-declension, and, less often, the same form was used for the fem. as for the masc. In Gothic also the nom. sg. fem. was always the same as the nom. sg. masc., while the other cases were formed with the *ī*-suffix. The use of *-ī* is Indo-European, and it exerted great influence on the *u*-stems as a whole, being a chief factor in the complete transfer to *i*-stems in Latin, and in the partial transfer to *jo*-stem forms in the masc. and neuter in Lithuanian and Gothic.

#### V. SUFFIXES

*Suffix -u- adjectives.*—This forms adjectives in Sanskrit, Avestan, Old Persian (one example), Greek, Celtic, Germanic, and Lithuanian. They are numerous in Sanskrit, far outnumbering the substantives with *u*-suffix, much less common in Avestan, far more numerous in Greek than the substantives in *-us* or *-v* not belonging to the *-us -vos* type, infrequent in Celtic or Germanic, but very numerous in Lithuanian, here again far outnumbering the substantives with suffix *-u-*. The accent of adjectives in *-u* (of whatever *u*-suffix) was shown by Bezzenberger, B.B. 2 (1878), 123 ff., to have been originally on the suffix. His list of Vedic examples is about in the proportion of five to one in favor of this rule. He also cites a long list of Lithuanian adjectives that follow the rule and only a few that do not. Greek adjectives in *-us* are regularly oxytone, there being less than half a dozen exceptions. Goth. *hardus* to Grk. *κρατύς* and O.H.G. *durri*, O.N. *þurr* also point to accent on the suffix. Goth. *þaûrsus* as an exception is weakened by O.H.G. *durri*, etc. (cf. Kluge, Nom. Stammbildungslehre, § 182). The root appears in different grades, and there seems to be no special significance attaching to *-u-* as an adjective suffix. For the suffix in Sanskrit see especially Whitney, Skt. Gr., § 1178. In Lithuanian the suffix is primary and secondary. In the first use it has a general adjectival force, in the second it forms derivatives

from substantives and has the force of L. *-osus*, Grk. *-eus*, being especially frequent in this use (Leskien, *Nomina* 244 and 259).

Examples: Skt. *āçû-* "swift," Av. *āsu-* "swift," Grk. *ὠκύς*, L. *ōcior*, *acu-pedium* (Festus), perhaps *accipiter* for *\*acu-peter* (Lindsay, L.L. 259; J. Schmidt, *Plur.* 174); Skt. *urû-* "wide," Av. *vo<sup>u</sup>ru-* "broad," Grk. *εὐρύς*; Skt. *gurû-* "heavy," Av. *go<sup>u</sup>ru-* (in a compound) "opposing," Grk. *βαρύς*, Goth. *kau<sup>u</sup>rus* "heavy" (cf. Skt. *āgru-* "unmarried," Av. *ayru-* "non grvida"); Skt. *tanû-* "thin," Grk. *τανύ-γλωσσος*, L. *tenuis*, O. Ir. *tana*, O.H.G. *dimmi*, O.B. *tinû-kû* "thin;" Skt. *tṛṣû-* "eager, desirous," Goth. *þa<sup>u</sup>rsus* "dry," O.H.G. *durri* "dry;" Skt. *purû-* "much," Av. *po<sup>u</sup>ru-* "full," O.P. *paru-* "much," Grk. *πολύς*, O. Ir. *il* "much," Goth. *filu* n. "much;" Skt. *pṛthû-* "broad," Av. *pər<sup>u</sup>θu-* "broad," Grk. *πλατύς*, Lith. *platūs* "broad;" Skt. *raghû-* "fleet, Grk. *ἐλαχύς*, Av. *ra<sup>u</sup>vī-* f. "the swift one;" Skt. *svādû-* "sweet," Grk. *ἡδύς*, L. *suāvis*, Eng. *sweet*; Skt. *vāsu-* "good," Av. *vo<sup>u</sup>hu-* "good," O.P. *vahu-* (in nomen propr. compound), O. Ir. *fiu* "worthy."

*Suffix -tu- adjectives.*—This forms a very few adjectives in Sanskrit, as *dhātu-* "drinkable," *tapyatû-* "glowing, hot" (Whit., § 1161). It is probable that these are transfers to *u*-stems of *-ata* forms (*pacata*, etc., Whit., § 1176, *e*). So in Lithuanian the suffixes *-tu-*, *-stu-*, *-sztu-* appear along with *-ta-*, *-sta-*, *-szta-* in the formation of a few adjectives (Leskien, *Nomina* 556–59). The suffix in Lithuanian is no doubt simply a by-form of *-ta-*, and in no sense an inherited suffix.

*Suffix -iu- adjectives.*—This forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit (see Whitney, § 1165, *b*). For "secondary *yu*" in forming adjectives from nominal and pronominal stems see Whitney, § 1178, *h*, *i*. In this use it generally has the force of "desiring or seeking after," and is fairly common.

In Lithuanian, adjectives in *-iu-* are very doubtful (Leskien, *Nomina* 326). It may be said that outside of Sanskrit the suffix *-iu-* does not form adjectives.

*Suffix -nu- adjectives.*—This forms a very few adjectives in Sanskrit, in the forms *-nu-* and *-anu-* (Whit., § 1162, *b*, *c*), a very few in Avestan, and a few in Lithuanian, which, however, are closely associated with those in *-na-* (Leskien, 355 ff.). The

suffix *-snu-* found in Sanskrit is an extension of the suffix *-nu-*, originating no doubt in words where *s* was part of the stem. Cf. Whitney, § 1194. So also Skt. *-tnu-*, Whit., § 1196.

Examples: Skt. *gr̥dhnū-* "hasty," *√gr̥dh* "be eager;" Skt. *tapnū-* "burning," *√tap* "warm;" Av. *zōišnu-* "unclean," Bartholomae, Z.D.M.G. 50 (1896), 689; Jackson, A.J.P. 12 (1891), 68.

*Suffix -ru- adjectives.*—This apparently forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit, and one or two in Avestan, but in the absence of cognates from other languages it cannot be determined whether the suffix is *-ru-* or *-lu-*. No certain examples of *ru*-adjectives are found in Germanic (Kluge, Nominalstammbildungslehre<sup>2</sup> 94, 197). In Lithuanian the suffix forms a fair number of adjectives. These outnumber those in *-ra-*, with which they are closely associated (Leskien, Nomina 440 ff.).

Examples: Skt. *patāru-* "flying," *√pat* "fly;" Skt. *vandāru-* "praising," Av. *vandru-* "desiring," Skt. *√vand* "greet;" Lith. *gaidrūs*, *gėdrūs*, and *gėdras* "bright, clear" (of weather): *φαιδρός*.

*Suffix -lu- adjectives.*—This forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit and Greek, one or two in Germanic, and a small number in Lithuanian, where they outnumber those in *-la-*.

Examples: Skt. *dhārū-* "sucking," Grk. *θήλυς*, Skt. *√dhā* "suck;" Skt. *bhīrū-* "timid," Lith. *bailūs* "fearful;" Kluge (Nom. 193) cites only Goth. *aglūs* "heavy" as certain. For Lithuanian see Leskien, Nomina 468. For Skt. *-ālu-* see Whitney, § 1227, *b*.

Other, rare, suffixes containing *u* are: *-āku-* (Skt., Whit., § 1181, *d*); *-ku-* in Lith. (Leskien, 507); *-mu-* in Skt. *stāmū-* "thundering" to *√stan* "thunder" (Lindner, Altindische Stammbildung, § 75; Wackernagel, Ai. Gr. 14); *-su-* in Skt. according to Lindner, § 97, but doubtful. In Lith. *-su-* forms a few adjectives, but is merely a by-form of *-sa-*. (Cf. Leskien, 597.)

## II. *Ū*-STEMS

### A. NOUNS

#### I. AS A DECLENSIONAL TYPE

The *ū*-declension is preserved in Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, and Old Bulgarian. Latin has it only in the root-nouns *sūs* and *grūs*.



These have the acc. sg. *suem*, *gruem* like Grk. ὀφρῦα, etc., and in the nom. pl. the *i*-stem ending -ēs, not differing in this respect from other stems in Latin which follow the cons. declension. The dat.-abl. pl. *sūbus* is the *ū*-stem form, while *suibus*, *gruibus* are after the *i*-stems. Leskien, *Nomina* 241 ff., sees the type also in four Lettic feminines, *pluralia tantum*.

Some of the forms are clearly root-stems in which the *u* is a part of the root, e. g., L. *sūs*, etc., but the type is not limited to such, as shown by Skt. *çvaçrû-*, O.B. *svekry*, etc. Nouns in *ū* are all feminine except a very few somewhat doubtful masculines in Sanskrit, and a masculine or two in Greek. In Sanskrit they are all oxytone (Whitney, 355, c), and in Greek the accent is on the ultima almost without exception.

## II. TRANSFER TO OTHER STEMS

In Latin it would seem from *socrus* that *ū*-stems (other than root-stems) became *u*-stems. The shortening before the *m* in the acc. sg. *socrūm* would make that form identical with the acc. sg. of short *u*-stems, and leveling probably caused the transfer of the remaining cases. In the modern Slavic languages *ū*-stems have been lost, going over mainly to the *ā*-stems. Isolated instances of transfer elsewhere are: Goth. *swaithrō* (*ōn*-stem), O.B. *\*kry krūvi* (*i*-stem), Lith. *žuvis* (*i*-stem).

Examples: Skt. *çvaçrû-* "mother-in-law," O.B. *svekry*, L. *socrus* (*ū*-stem), Goth. *swaithrō*, with same meaning; Skt. *tanū-* f. "body," Av. *tanū-* f. "body;" Skt. *nṛtū-* m. "dancer," *nṛtyati* "dance;" O.B. *liuby* f. "love," L. *lubet*, etc.; O.B. *čěly* f. "healing, cure," Goth. *hails* "well," Eng. *hale*, *whole*; Skt. *bhū-* f. "earth," Skt. *√bhū* "become;" Skt. *bhrū-* "brow," Grk. ὀφρῦς, Lith. *bruvis* "brow," Eng. *brow*; Skt. *vadhū-*<sup>1</sup> f. "bride," Lith. *vedū*, O.B. *veda* "I lead." For further examples see Whitney, Skt. Gr. 355, c.

## B. ADJECTIVES

Sanskrit alone has the *ū*-declension of adjectives. Here the suffix -*ū-* is used in forming feminines to masculine adjectives in -*ū*. They constitute the bulk of Sanskrit *ū*-stems.

<sup>1</sup> Uhlenbeck, ai. etym. Wörterbuch, s. v. *vadhūs*, cites Av. *vašu-*, which I have not been able to find.

No other form of *ū*-suffix than the simple *-ū-* seems to appear. (For Grk. *-ῥῡ-* see p. 46). Evidence for *ū*-stems from other derivative suffixes is scanty. The suffix *-ūko-*, which forms a few adjectives in Sanskrit and Latin and a noun or two in Greek and Old Bulgarian (Brug., Grd. 2, 256; Whit., § 1180 *f.*), probably arose by the addition of the suffix *-ko-* to a *ū*-stem. So the suffix *-tūti-*, which forms a few nouns in Latin, Celtic, and Gothic, as well as the Latin *-tūdō-*, may point to a suffix *-tū-* (Cf. Pokrowskij, KZ. 35 [1899], 247; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 333).

## U-STEMS IN GREEK

### A. NOUNS

#### I. NOUNS IN -*υς* -*υ*, GEN. -*εος* (ATTIC -*εως*), REPRESENTING THE ORIGINAL TYPE I (SHORT *u*-STEMS)

The stem-suffix appears in the three forms -*υ*-, -*εφ*-, and -*φ*-. The last two are followed by the case-endings of the consonant stems. In its declension of this type, Greek differs from the related languages chiefly in its extension of the strong form -*εφ*- to cases which have the weak form in other languages. The form -*φ*-, that is, -*υ*-, is confined to certain cases of *υῖς*, *γόνυ*, and *δόρυ*. As normal representatives of the declension of this type may be taken *ὁ πῆχυς* and *τὸ ἄστυ*.

The nom. sg. in -*υς* and -*υ* is parallel to the forms in related languages and calls for no remark.

In all dialects except Attic, so far as there is any evidence, the gen. sg. has -*εος* from -*εφ*-*ος*. Greek stands alone in this form, Skt. -*os*, Goth. -*aus*, Lith. -*āus* pointing to an I.E. gen. -*eus* or -*ous* for *u*-stems. The Attic -*εως* is explained as due to the influence of *πόλεως* from Homeric *πόλῃος* by change of quantity, this with *η* after the loc. (dat.) sg. *πόλῃ*. (So, for example, Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 224). It is possible that the -*εως* of nouns in -*ευσ* had a share in making -*εως* the regular Attic gen. for *u*-stems. The form *ἄστεως* occurs without exception on Attic inscriptions, e. g., C.I.A. 2, 584 (318-307 B. C.), C.I.A. 2, 379 (229 B. C.), etc., (*ἄ*]στεος, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 541, 5, of 421 B. C. in Attic alphabet = *ἄστεως*). Phrynichus (Lobeck, 245; Rutherford, 318) wrongly gives the gen. sg. as *πῆχεος* (cf. K.B., § 126, anm. 7), but Photius, 429, 7, p. 316, bids us say *πῆχεως* not *πήχους*. Etym. Mag. 687, 11, gives *πρέσβεως*, *πῆχεως*, *πελέκεως* as Attic, citing *πρέσβυος* apparently as non-Attic. The usage of later Atticists was not always in accordance with the evidence of the inscriptions, Philostratus and Strabo, for example, having forms in -*εος* (Schmid, Atticismus IV, 20, 586, III, 25). In Aesch. Suppl. 490 at the close of an iambic line, most MSS. read *ἄστεος*. In Soph. O.R. 762, also at the end

of a line, ἄστειος is read. But Euripides has undoubted instances where the long vowel is demanded, e. g., El. 246, Ph. 842. (K.B., § 126, anm. 2). The non-Attic literary dialects, Epic, Ionic, Doric, show the gen. sg. -εος. Æolic happens not to have the gen. sg., but has other forms of the same declension. The evidence from inscriptions is scanty but decisive for the -εος form, e. g., Boeotian [f]ἄστιος S.G.D.I. 491, 3 = C.I.G.S. 3170, 3, with ι for ε before a vowel; cf. Boeotian θιός; Cretan νιέος, L.G. VI, 3.

The dat. sg. is a loc. sg. in origin and has -εῖ (-ει) from -εφ-ι, parallel to Vedic -avi in *sūnāvī*.

The acc. sg. has -υν -υ, parallel to the forms in related languages, I.E. -um -u. For νιέα, etc., see below under νίς.

The voc. sg. in -υ has a parallel in Goth. -u, Av. -u, but Skt. -o, Lith. *aũ*, O.B. -u show forms going back to I.E. -eu or -ou.

The nom. pl. in -εες (-εις) from -εφ-ες shows the normal form parallel to Skt. -avas, etc. The uncontracted form -εες seems to have prevailed everywhere except in Attic. For the literary evidence see K.B., § 127. The only inscriptional forms are: Æolic πρέσβεες, S.G.D.I. 281, A33 (333 B. C.); Acragas πρέσβεες, S.G.D.I. 4254, 11; Cretan νιέες, L.G. VII, 25, 22; Delphian πρέσ]βεις, S.G.D.I. 2506, 37 (277 B. C.), probably the *κοινή* form. There is no inscriptional evidence for adjectives, so far as I have noted.

The gen. pl. in -εων from -εφ-ων is, like the gen. sg., an example of the extension of the strong form of the suffix to weak cases. Herodian I, 428, gives πήχεων and πελέκεων as Attic. Photius 316 says πήχεων not πηχῶν, as also πήχεως not πήχους. C.I.A. II add. 834, C. 15 (324 B. C.) has πήχεων *bis*. The contracted form πηχῶν is late (cf. K.B., § 126, anm. 7). A Pergamene inscription of the time of Trajan shows πηχῶν.

The dat. pl. in -εσι is a loc. pl. in origin, but with -εσι instead of -ουσι after the analogy of the nom.-gen. pl. (so Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 237). Homer has πελέκεσσι (also Corinna) with the ending which is so widespread in the third declension, especially in the Æolic dialects, and is usually explained as an extension from *s*-stems (Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, §§ 271 and 273, 1; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>,

§ 376; Smyth, *Ionic* 378; otherwise, K.B., § 118, 10, anm. 9, and Wackernagel, I.F. 14 [1903], 373–375).

In the acc. pl. Cretan alone shows the original ending *-υς*, L.G. IV, 40, *υῖυς* (cf. Goth. *sununs*). Schulze, *Com. Phil. Gryph.* (1887) 17, holds that Homer had an acc. pl. in *-ῦς* from *-υς*. In Homer *πολέος*, *πολέες*, *πολέων* are found forty-two times, never suffering contraction or synizesis except in two instances, in one of which emendation is easy, while in the other the line is considered spurious. This being true of the gen. sg. and nom.-gen. pl., it is surprising that in eighteen occurrences of the acc. pl. of *πολύς* no less than eight must be read as dissyllables. This dissyllabic form appears in the MSS. sometimes as *πολέας* (Il. 1, 559; Il. 2, 4; Od. 3, 262), sometimes as *πολεῖς* (Il. 15, 66, etc.), and sometimes with variation between the two. It is unlikely that *ea* would contract more readily than *eo* or *ee*. Homer does not have the nom. pl. *πολεῖς*, and Schulze first pointed out that it is unlikely that a nom. form *-εις* would be employed as an acc. before it was in use as a nom. We are not justified in assuming that *πολέας* contracted while *πολέες* did not, nor that *πολεῖς* is to be taken as the correct form of the dissyllabic accusatives, and as a nom. pl. form used in the accusative.

Schulze therefore concluded that Homer used a form in *-ῦς* from *-υς*. This view is borne out by the evidence of the related languages and by Cretan *υῖυς*, as well as by the reading *πολῦς* ascribed to Zenodotus by the scholiast on Il. 2, 4, and now accepted by Fick and Christ. Against this view may be urged the direct statement of the scholiast (*loc. cit.*) that the acc. pl. in *-ῦς* is confined to nouns in *-υς* *-υος*, and the fact that the sole traditional support for *-ῦς* is this reading of Zenodotus.

Wackernagel, I.F. 14 (1903), 369 f., seeks to show that the acc. pl. forms in *-εις* are from *-ενς*, which has displaced the original *-υς* under the influence of other cases with *ε*, just as *-εσι* arose for *-υσι* in the dat. pl. (Brugmann, *Kurze Gr.* §92, accepts Wackernagel's view as probable.) His theory has the advantage of retaining the form *-εις*, which has traditional support, but the weight of this is lessened by the fact that *-εις* can perfectly well be due to the Attic form familiar to the editor, while *-ῦς* in short *υ*-stems

would get no such support. On the other hand it is reasonably certain that the gen. sg. *-εφος* for *-ευσ* or *-φος* and the gen. pl. *-εφων* for *-φων* arose in proethnic Greek, probably also the dat. pl. *-εσι* (unfortunately here the Cretan has only the analogical *υῖδοσι*), yet these left the accusative forms unaffected, as the *-υυ* of all dialects and the Cretan *υῖυυς* show. The *-ευσ* could not therefore belong to this stratum, and the later dialectic encroachment of *εφ* in the accusative forms was accompanied by the consonantal endings, i. e., *-ε(φ)α*, *-ε(φ)ας*. A dialectic substitution of *-ευσ* for *-υυς* is only a degree more plausible than would be an acc. sg. *-ευ* for *-υυ*.

So far as the Attic accusative in *-ευσ* is concerned, there is no question of priority to forbid its being a nominative form used as an accusative, for, as far as we know, Attic had nom. pl. *-ευσ* from the earliest historical period. There are parallels to this usage elsewhere, e. g., the nom. pl. of the Latin fourth declension in *-ūs* is best taken as an accusative form (so Lindsay, L.L. 398; Brug., Kurze Gr. 391), and the "contracted" nom. pl. of the *-υς*, *-υος* declension is an accusative form (Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 266), and the fact that Attic does not have *-εσ* for *-ας* (see Wackernagel) is not a serious objection.

The forms in *-εας* in use in Homer and Herodotus are further examples of the extension of the strong form of the suffix *-εφ-* and the consequent adding of the consonant ending *-ας*.

The nom.-acc. pl. neuter in *-εα*, from *-εφ-α*, has the *α* of the cons. stems (see above, p. 8). The Attic *-η* is after the analogy of the *s*-stems, Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 (1881), 272. Pindar, Nem. 10, 5, has *ἄσση*, Bacchylides 13, 155, *ἄσσηα*. C.I.G. Ins. I, 3, 202 (metrical, third or fourth century B. C.) has *ἄσσηα*. The peculiar form *ἄσσηα* occurs B.C.H. 24 (1900), 71, in a metrical inscription from Boeotia of the third century B. C. For the *ι* see Solmsen, Rh.M. 58 (1903), 614.

The dual nom.-acc. in *-εε* (Attic *-ει*) from *-εφ-ε*, has the usual *-ε* of the Greek nom.-acc. dual. On this *-ε* see Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 231; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 381; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 27 (1885), 292. Herodian II, 324, says that the nominative of the dual in the orators is *τὸν πρέσβη*, from *πρέσβυς*, *πρέσβεος*, but that the form *πρεσβῆ* in Aristophanes (Fr. 495, Dd.) is from

πρεσβεύς, τοῦ πρεσβέος. The dual τὸ πρέσβει occurs on an inscription of Carpathus, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 69, 45 and 56 = C.I.G. Ins. I, 977 (fourth century B.C.), ω and η are on the stone, but ε is used for ει. So the Attic νίει (written *hνιε*) occurs on an inscription, C.I.A. iv, 418, 9 (before 418 B. C.). Kirchhoff transcribes νίῆ, but cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, footnote, 1205.

The dual gen.-dat. -έοιν from -εφ-οιν has the usual ending added to the strong form of the suffix. For the -οιν see Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 232, with the literature cited.

So far as there is any evidence, it has been shown that the type -υς -υ, -εος extends throughout the dialects. This is in striking contrast to the *i*-stems, which, outside of Attic-Ionic, and in Ionic also in large measure, have the declension of the *i*- *i*̄-stems, gen. -ιος, nom. pl. -ιες. Most short *u*-stems have gone over to the declension of the long *ū*-stems in Greek, but in the few substantives where the short *u*-declension has been preserved it is found not merely in Attic or Attic-Ionic, but also in other dialects.

The only nouns in Greek declined according to this type are: ἡ ἔγχελυς, ὁ πέλεκυς, ὁ πῆχυς, ὁ πρέσβυς, ὁ υἴς, and the neuters ἄστυ, πῶϋ, σῶρυ, and perhaps μίσυ. Like these are declined the adjective compounds with πέλεκυς, πῆχυς, or πρέσβυς as final member. See below, p. 62. Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 (1881), 272, assumes a form \*δενδρυ- to account for δένδρη, etc., but there seems to be no reason why these should not be from δένδρος as usually taken. For γόνυ and δόρυ, which belong more closely with this type than with any other, but which do not conform to it as a whole, see below, pp. 35 f. Homer has a pl. κῶεα, κῶεσι from which Schmidt, editor of Hesychius, s. v. κυνύπισμα, infers a sg. κῶϋ like πῶϋ to pl. πῶεα, but the sg. κῶας is found in Homer, and from this the κῶεα is usually taken.

ἔγχελυς varies in declension, having forms of the -υς -υος type, especially in the plural. Homer has only the pl. ἐγγέλυες. Archilochus has ἐγγέλυας. According to Tryphon in Athenæus 7, 299, chap. 54, Attic declined the singular like πῆχυς -εως, but the plural like nouns in -υς -υος. So also Ælius Dionys. ap. Eustath. 1231, 35 = ed. Schwabe 72 and 150, 15. Aristophanes has ἐγγέλεις, ἐγγέλεων, and ἐγγέλεσιν. According to Bonitz'

Index, Aristotle uses the nom. sg. ἔγγελος, the gen. sg. ἐγγέλεως and ἐγγέλους, nom. pl. ἐγγέλους, ἐγγέλους, ἐγγέλεις (once v. l. -ιδες), gen. pl. -ύων, -ίων, -έων, dat. pl. -υσι, -εσι. The grammarians are inclined to take the forms ἐγγέλεως ἐγγέλεων from a nom. sg. ἔγγελος. So Bekker, A.G. 1366. For the usage in other writers see especially Thesaurus, s. v., and also K.B., § 126, anm. 3, 441.

πέλεκυς has the dat. pl. πελέκυσι in Ælian H.A. xvii, 44, but in xiv, 29 the regular πελέκεσι. Hesychius, s. v. Στειλήη has πελέκυος (cf. Lobeck, Phryn. 246).

The grammarians mention forms in -υος from πρέσβυς and take the gen. πρέσβεως from πρέσβις. So Etym. Mag. 687, 11, πρέσβις . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ πρέσβις πρέσβιος, πρέσβεις πρέσβεις . . . κλίνεται τὸ πρέσβυς πρέσβυος καὶ πρέσβεως Ἀττικῶς· καὶ ἔστι τρίτον μετὰ τῶν πήχεως καὶ πελέκεως σεσημειωμένων. Chæroboscus 234, 23 = Bekker, A.G. 1413 = Gram. Græci, iv, 1, 233, 6, says the feminine is ἡ πρέσβυς τῆς πρέσβυος and the masculine in Doric is πρέσγυς πρέσγυος, and that πρέσβις πρέσβεως means "ambassador," while πρέσβυς means γέρων. Cf. also schol. Arist. Ach. 93. Chæroboscus ap. Hdn. ii, 707, cites a voc. πρέσβις and an acc. πρέσβιν.

The gen. sg. of νίς is given as νιέος not νιέως. See below, p. 32.

Of the neuters, ἄστυ is the only one in frequent use.

πῶν is found only in Homer and Hesiod, in Homer only in the forms πῶν, πῶεα, πῶεσι, in Hesiod only πῶεα. The grammarian in Cramer, Anecd. Ox. 3, 255, says τὸ πῶν is declined like μέθυ, πῶν πῶνος πῶνι, and that the poet (Homer) made the pl. πῶεα from another sg. πῶας just as he had κῶας and pl. κῶεα.

The word σῶρυ has the gen. σῶρεως in Diosc. 5, 119, and in the Hippiatrica (an anonymous work of the Middle Ages on medicine), but Pliny 34, 29, has *soryos*. The Thesaurus says the genitive should be corrected to σῶρυος (which Pliny has), or the nominative should be taken as σῶρι. The gen. *soreos* is found in Celsus 6, 9. σῶρι is found in Democritus. Galen has the word frequently, but always in the form σῶρυ.

L. and S. s. v., and K.B., § 126, give μίσυ as belonging to the same declension as ἄστυ, though also with the gen. -υος. The



Thesaurus does not give the genitive in *-εως* at all, but thinks on the basis of the Latin use of the word that it may have been used as an indeclinable, when not declined in *-υ -υος*. None of the references in L. and S. or in the Thesaurus, so far as I know, has the genitive in *-εως*, and K.B. give no references. Lobeck, Phryn. 288, in commenting on *σίνηπι σινήπεως* and *σίναντυ σινάπυος* says: "sic τοῦ βράθυος Jul. Afric. Cest. 16, 294. τοῦ μίσυος et τοῦ μίσεως apud materiae medicae scriptores, itemque σέρεως et σώρεως." In his index Lobeck gives the reference to *μίσεως* under *μίσυ* not *μίσυν*. Certain it is that such words (mostly of foreign origin) for plants, metals, and medicines were greatly confused among the late writers. So Phrynichus, *loc. cit. supra*, tells us not to say *σίναντι*, but *νάπτυ*, and the declension varied as given above. At any rate, the gen. *μίσυος* is by far the most frequent, if that in *-εως* occurs at all. I have found the form in *-υος* in the following: Diosc. 5, 117; Celsus 5, 19, § 8; Galen (ed. Kühn), Vol. XIX, p. 736 *bis*; Hippocrates (ed. Littré) vi, 422, in two MSS., others having *μύσιος*, vii, 354, with no v. l., vii, 414, § 98, one MS. having *μίσυν*, viii, 170, § 76, with no v. l.

In modern Greek no distinction exists between the declensions of original short *u*-stems and original long *ū*-stems, both having been merged with stems the vowel of whose final syllable, *η* or *ι*, had become identical in pronunciation with *υ*. See Hatzidakis, *Neugr. Gram.* 380; Jannaris, *Hist. Grk. Gr.*, §§ 389, 390, 398, 399; Thumb, *Neugr. Volkssprache* 36, § 70, 2.

*υῖς*.<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of the *o*-stem forms, *υῖς* presents the following: Nom. sg.: *υῖς* Lac. S.G.D.I. 4402 = Cauer 4 = I.G.A. 54, the only example of the stem *υῖ-* in Laconian (Boisacq, *Dial. Dor.* 145), Cretan L.G. ix, 40, *υῖς* mistake for *υῖς* L.G. xii, 17; *υῖς* Attic vase, Klein, *Gr. Vasen* 72 = C.I.G. 8202, and *υῖς* Klein, 72 = C.I.G. 8203, mistake for *υῖς*; *υῖς*, Attic, C.I.A. iv,

<sup>1</sup> Miller, *Mélanges* (1868) 291; Baunack, *Curt. Stud.* 10 (1878), 88 f.; Nauck, *Mélanges* (1875-1880) iv, 102; Härtel, *Zeitsch. f. öst. G.* 27 (1876), 628; Wackernagel, *K.Z.* 25 (1881), 291; Osthoff, *M.U.* iv (1881), 185 adn. 2; Bergk, *Poetae Melici* (1882) 534; Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gort.* 71 (1885); Schulze, *Com. Phil. Gryph.* 20 ff. (1887); Kretschmer, *K.Z.* 29 (1888), 470 f., *Vasen Inscr.* 187 (1894); Allen, *Papers of Am. School at Athens* iv (1888), 71 f.; Delbrück, *Die Indogerm. Verwandtschaftsnamen* 455 (1889); Kühner-Blass, *Gr. Gr.* (1890) 138; La Roche, *Beiträge zur gr. Gram.* 1 (1893), 222 ff., especially valuable for review of forms, *Homerische Unters.* 46; Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 299 f., 12 182, 270 f., *Gr. Gr.* 3, §§ 14, 29, 183; Meisterhans, *Att. Inscr.* 3 144 (1900); Herwerden, *Lexicon suppl. et dial. s. v.* (1902); Ehrlich, *K.Z.* 33 (1902), 89. In the following pages on *υῖς* the abbreviation *loc. cit.* will refer to the works here cited.

1, *b*, 373, 107, metrical sixth century B. C. (C.I.A. i, 398, is usually taken as metrical, and if so seems to have the first syllable short, Usener, *altgr. Versbau* 30. But cf. Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gort.* 71; Allen, *loc. cit.*, 55, 71; Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, who read it *ύύς* as one long syllable. Meisterhans, *loc. cit.*, suggests that it may be a prose inscription); *ύς* Attic, C.I.A. iv, 1, *b*, 373, 94, metrical sixth century B. C.; *ύίς* hypothetical form, a figment of the grammarian, *Etym. Mag.* 553, 15; cf. 775, 20; *ύίς* or *ύίς* attributed to Simonides, see Bergk, *loc. cit.*, Miller, *loc. cit.*

Gen. sg.: *ύίος* Homer. Whether Thessalian *HYIOΞ* of the Sotairos inscription belongs here (*hύίος*) or is to be understood as *hύίος*, gen. sg. of *ύίς*, is still uncertain. See Solmsen, *Inscr. Graecae ad inlustr. Dialectos sel.* 21, footnote 10, with literature cited; *ύίέος* Homer, Cretan, L.G. vi, 3, Attic MSS., see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223; *ύέος* Attic, C.I.A. ii, 1513 (400–350 B. C.); *ύίέος* called pseudattic by Phrynichus (Lobeck, 68; Ruth. 141), see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223; *ύίῆος* Attic metrical, time of Empire, C.I.A. iii, 914, 1.

Dat. sg.: *ύίῦ* Homer, Hesiod; *ύίέῖ* Homer, Hesiod; *ύίέῖ* Homeric doubtful (see K.B., § 435), Argive, S.G.D.I. 3297, 2, prose, time of Empire, Attic, S.G.D.I. 1597, 4, from Dodona, but in Attic dialect, stone has *ΝΙΕΙ*, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224, Elatea, metrical, third or fourth century B. C. in B.C.H. 10 (1886), 367; *ύίῆῦ* late Epic.

Acc. sg.: *ύίῦν* Arcad. S.G.D.I. 1183, Cretan, L.G. vi, 12, x, 15; *ύία* Homer, Ænolian, S.G.D.I. 1438, 6, metrical, Locrian, S.G.D.I. 1500, time of Ætolian League, Bithynian, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 381, 8, metrical, third century B. C., Thasos, Chios, etc., metrical inscriptions; *ύίέα* Homer, only Il. 13, 350, various later poets, see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223, C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 819, metrical, second century B. C., *Inscr. v. Olymp.*, footnote 184, third century B. C., *Rev. Ét. Grecq.* 15 (1902), 331, metrical from Pontus, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 381, 16, metrical from Bithynia, third century B. C., same inscription has *ύία*, Phrynichus (Lobeck 68) and Thomas Magister, 367, disapprove the form, though Dio Chrys. uses it, i, 261, 28 (Schmid, *Attic.* i, 86); *ύίῆα* late Epic (Nicander *Frag.* 110).

Nom. pl.: *víes* Homer; *víées* Homer, Hesiod, Pindar Is. 7, 25, Cretan, L.G. vii, 25, 22; *víeis* Homer, Od. 15, 248, 24, 497 (here *víées* Nauck), Hesiod Frag. 70, 3 (130 K), 136 (68 K) (*víées* Nauck), Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224; *íeis* Attic, C.I.A. i, 61, 14 (409 B. C.), Corpus (Köhler) transcribes *ύης*, Meisterhans, *loc. cit.*, *íeis*; *víhes* late Epic.

Voc. pl.: *víeis* Homer, Il. 5, 464 (*víes* Nauck).

Gen. pl.: *viōv* Homer (Plato, Demosthenes, Pindar, Quintus of Smyrna; see La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225). This form could, of course, belong either with *víes* or *violí*, but is preferably taken with *víes*. Cf. Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290, who makes *vífōv* parallel to Av. *pasvām*; *viéōv* Pindar, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225, Protagoras, Smyth, Ionic 398; *viήov*, Anth. Pal. viii, 118, 5.

Dat. pl.: *viási* Homer, Cretan, L.G. iv, 37, Soph. Antig. 571, v. 1. *viéσι*; *viéσι* Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225; *íéεσσι* prose inscription from Syracuse, Inscr. Sic. et It. 10 = S.G.D.I. 3235, where Blass reads (τ)ε(λε)σι; *viήεσσιν* late Epic, La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 226.

Acc. pl.: *viōvs* Cretan, L.G. iv, 40, Argive, J.H.S. 13 (1892-93), 128, n. 61, on a fragment from the Acropolis (Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 461); *viās* Homer; *viéis* Attic C.I.A. iii, 167, 5 (143 A. D.), archaizing inscription, Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225; *íeis* Attic, C.I.A., ii, 51, 11, 19, 27, 30 (369 B. C.) = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 89, C.I.A. ii, add. i, b, 37, 393 = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 57, YEΞ (403 B. C.); *viéas* Homer, Hesiod, Herodotus, C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 1189, 4, metrical; *viήas* late Epic.

Nom.-acc. dual: *viē* Homer, Hesiod; *viée* Attic MSS., La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 224; *viēi* Attic, C.I.A. iv, 418, 9 (before 418 B. C.), stone HYIE. Kirchhoff transcribes *viή*, but cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, footnote 1205.

Of the nom. sg. forms given, *viīs* is a fiction of the grammarian, and *viīs* attributed to Simonides by the Florentine Etym. Mag. is rejected by Herodian. The other forms are from the *u*-stem proper.

In the gen. sg. *viōs*<sup>1</sup> is without doubt from \**viífos* parallel to

<sup>1</sup> The analogy of other words and other languages points to the accent *viōs* *vií* in the gen.-dat. sg. as suggested by Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290. Schulze adopts Wackernagel's

γουνός δουρός, from \*γουνφός \*δορφός. The forms *υῖός*, *ύός* are like *πήχεος*. The form *υῖέως* is branded as pseudattic by Phrynichus, and Thomas Magister, 367 (ed. Ritschl), bids us write *υῖός* with an omicron. Further Etym. Mag. 775, 20 says the Athenians wrote *υῖός* with *ο* not *ω*. The evidence of Attic inscriptions is confined to one example, C.I.A. ii, 1513, with *υῖός*. The date is fixed between 400 and 350 B. C., so that it would have had *υῖέως*, had this been the Attic form. The spelling *υῖέως* is, however, fairly frequent in the MSS. of Attic writers (cf. Lobeck, Phryn. 68 ff.). *υῖῆος* is a late metrical form developed no doubt through confusion with nouns in *-eus*.

Of the other forms cited all agree with the corresponding forms of the regular declension as given above except the following:

(1) Forms with the suffix grade *-f-* and the consonantal endings, like the gen. *υῖος*, discussed above; dat. sg. *υῖι*, acc. sg. *υῖα*, nom. pl. *υῖες*, gen. pl. *υῖῶν* (see above under forms), acc. pl. *υῖας*, nom.-acc. dual *υῖε*.

Kühner-Blass, § 138, 507, give the dat. pl. *υῖάσι* as parallel to the gen. sg. *υῖος*, nom. pl. *υῖες*, etc. (so also La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 223), but in that case the dat. pl. *πήχεσι* should be explained in the same way. The form *υῖάσι* has been explained from the time of Eustathius (1348, 27) to the present (Wackernagel, K.Z. 25 [1881], 289; Bloomfield, A.J.P. 12 [1891], 24; Kretschmer, K.Z. 29 [1888], 470) as having its *α* from the analogy of other nouns of relationship *πατράσι*, etc. *υῖάσι* is for *υῖέσι*, and this for \**υῖύσι* as explained above under the dat. pl. Kühner-Blass, § 118, 417, miss the point of the syllabic liquid in *πατράσι*, etc.

(2) A series of late epic forms made mainly after the analogy of nouns in *-eus*, like the gen. sg. *υῖῆος* cited above; dat. sg. *υῖῆι*, acc. sg. *υῖῆα*, nom. pl. *υῖῆες*, dat. pl. *υῖῆεσσιν*, acc. pl. *υῖῆας* (cf. La Roche, *loc. cit.*, 225 f.).

(3) The acc. sg. *υῖέα*, an extension of the strong grade *-εφ-* with the consequent use of consonantal *-a*. Homer has such a form also in the acc. sg. of the adjective, e. g., *εὐρέα πόντον*. The acc. pl. *υῖύνς* has been sufficiently discussed above under the acc. pl.

suggestion and writes *υῖός*, *υῖ*. Cf. Danielsson, *Eranos* 1 (1896), 139, footnote. But it is hard to get around the direct statement of Herodian ii, 614, 36, that the gen. *υῖός* is properispomenon, though he is, to be sure, in error in regarding it as from a nom. *υῖς* (not extant). Cf. Etym. Mag. 775, 20. It would seem that the coexistence of a nom. *υῖός* and gen. *υῖός* would prove so confusing as to lead to a difference in accent for the sake of distinctness.

In Homer the *o*-stem forms, nom. sg. *νίός*, acc. sg. *νίον*, voc. sg. *νιέ*, are frequent. The gen. sg. *νιοῦ* occurs once, Od. 22, 238, the dat. pl. *νιοῖσι* once, Od. 19, 418, while *νιούς*, Il. 5, 159, is universally rejected as a false reading. K.-B. give *νιῶν* as from the stem *νιο-*, but this is an unnecessary assumption; see above under forms. The passages with *νιοῦ* and *νιοῖσι* are suspected of being late additions, cf. Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 25. If these are set aside we have left in Homer only the nom., acc., and voc. sg. of the *o*-stem, these having in distinction from other forms of *νίος* the initial syllable as syllaba anceps. Even these are rejected by Nauck, *loc. cit.* Cf. also Härtel, *loc. cit.* Judging from Homeric conditions just expressed, *o*-stem forms were substituted for *u*-stem forms in just those cases which have *νιυ-*. This can hardly be accidental, though a purely phonetic dissimilation (Osthoff, *loc. cit.*) is altogether unlikely. The evidence of inscriptions, especially Cretan and Attic, makes it plain that the *u*-stem form of the word was earlier than the *o*-stem. (Cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 144; Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 25; Kretschmer, K.Z. 29 [1888], 471; Baunack, *Inschr. v. Gort.* 71; otherwise Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, 90.) Just how the *o*-stem form arose is not determined. Schulze, *loc. cit.*, takes the gen. pl. *νιῶν* as the starting-point since this form has the appearance of a gen. pl. to *νίος*. (For an ancient view see *Etym. Mag.* 775, 20 and 553, 15.) In Attic the *o*-stem form completely displaced the *u*-stem form by about 350 B. C.

The suffix is clearly *-iū-*, and the root the same as in Skt. *sūnū-*, etc., p. 16. The only question is as to the precise form of the root. Kretschmer, *Vaseninschriften* 187, suggested that *νίος* was from *\*συφ-ίς*, and Ehrlich, *loc. cit.*, gives an elaborate explanation of all the case-forms on the basis of nom. *\*suīiūs*, gen. *\*suīiūos*. But such a formation as *\*suū-iū-* is in itself improbable, and it is safe to assert that no one will accept it, unless it is impossible to derive the Greek form from a *\*sū-iū-* or *\*su-iū-*. But this is not the case. How the forms can be derived from *\*suīu-* has been shown, in the main convincingly, by Schulze, *loc. cit.*, 20 ff. He rightly assumes (since *ι* between *υ* and a following vowel was lost in all dialects but Lesbian) that, e. g., nom. sg.

\**su-īu-s* became *ύς*, while gen. sg. \**su-īu-os* became *ύίός υίός* (for accent see above, p. 31, footnote), nom. pl. \**su-īeues* became *ύέφες, ύέές*, while gen. pl. \**su-īu-ōm* became *ύίφων, υίων*. He accounts for the extant forms of the developed paradigm by assuming leveling, strong forms passing, e. g., from the nom. pl. to the gen. sg. and, vice versa, weak forms entering strong cases as *ύίς* in nom. pl., while the *υ* strictly belonging by phonetic development to the gen.-dat. sg., etc., displaced the *υ*- of the nom.-acc. sg., etc., so that *ύίς, ύίύν*, arose beside gen. sg. *υίος*, etc. For such forms as gen. sg. *υίός* we must assume not only the influence of strong forms like nom. pl. *ύέές* as given by Schulze, but also, as I think, that of the regular endings *-εος -ει* of the ordinary *u*-stems.

Brugmann still holds (Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 14; Kurze Gr. 92) that *ι* after *υ* and before a vowel is regularly preserved. But *ύίς* would be the only example of the retention of an original intervocalic *ι*, except in Lesbian, and Schulze's explanation of the *υ*- in *ύίς* as due to leveling from cases where *υ*- came before *-φ*- is much to be preferred.

On the assumption that *ύίς* owes its *ι* to restoration, Schulze explains the short initial syllable of Homeric nom. sg. *υίός*, acc. sg. *υίόν*, voc. sg. *υίέ* by supposing that these forms stand in the place of original Homeric *ύίς, ύίύν, υίύ*, and that the latter have retained the quantity of the still earlier *ύίς, ύίύν, ύύ* from *su-īu-s*, etc. At any rate, it is clear that the situation is different in *ύίς*, with no consonant after the *υ*-, from that in *υίος, υίφος* (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 14). On the other hand, Attic has *ύ(ι)ός*, nom. sg. (Allen, *loc. cit.*, 71) from a form with restored *ι* and secondary loss, like *-ῶα* from *-ῶια* in the participle (Meisterhaus<sup>3</sup>, 59). Leaving out of account the question of quantity, the belief that such forms as *ύίς* owe their *ι* to the analogy of other cases receives confirmation from the situation in Attic, where, when the forms of the cons. decl. *υίος*, etc., were no longer in use, the *ι* did drop out just as we should have expected it to do earlier, had it not been for the "Systemzwang" of the other forms.

Inasmuch as *-īu-* is not found as the suffix for this word in any other language, and is rare anywhere, the view of Bezzenger cited with

approval by Delbrück, *loc. cit.*, is not without attractiveness. It is that *νίς νίος* was a "Koseform" to \**ννίς* like *μαῖα* to *μήτηρ* and Lith. *sėja* to *sesiū* "sister." There are no parallels, so far as I know, for such short-forms with suffix *-iu-*, but the suffix *-io-* is fairly frequent in Greek in "Kosenamen." Cf. Fick-Bechtel<sup>2</sup>, 24 f.

In what precedes there has been no attempt to explain why *νίς* should have forms in *-f-* with consonant endings, while other *u*-stems (except *γόνυ* and *δόρυ*) should not. Wackernagel, *loc. cit.*, 290, suggests that gen. pl. *νίφῶν* (cf. Av. *pasvām*, etc.) kept its form against the encroachment of *-εφῶν* through its similarity to *πατρῶν*, and that after *θυγατρός*, etc., were formed *νίφός*, *νίφί*, etc. Weight is added to this view by the fact that *νιάσι* is plainly after *πατράσι*, etc.

*γόνυ* and *δόρυ*.<sup>1</sup> Homer has the gen. sg. *γουνός*, *δουρός* from \**γουνφός* \**δορφός* like the gen. sg. *νίος*. That this gen. sg. in *-υος* is an I.E. type (beside *-eus*) is apparent from Vedic *पाच॑स*, Av. *χραθ॑ω*, and the Greek forms. It is entirely distinct from the gen. in *-υος* as in *γένυος*, which is properly the ending of *ū*-stems. Cf. Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 465; Brugmann, Grd. 2, 577. The form *δορός* of Attic tragedy represents the Attic development of \**δορφός*. Beside \**δορφός* arose \**δόρφατος* under the influence of the extensive neuter type in *-α*, *-ατος* (originally *u*-stem; see Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 212, 3, 4), whence *δούρατος* and *δόρατος* according to the dialectic treatment of *-ρφ-*, *-νφ-*. In the same way arose *γούνατος* and *γόνατος*. Herodian, ii, 940, 15, cites also a gen. sg. *δόρεος*.

Other forms which show the suffix grade *-f-* are: nom.-acc. pl. Æolic *γόννα*, *γόνα*, Hom. *γούνα*, Hom. *δοῦρα*; Hom. dual nom.-acc. *δοῦρε*; gen. pl. *γόνων* for *γόννων* Æolic (Sappho 44), Hom. *δοῦρων*; dat. sg. Hom., Pindar *δουρί*, Pindar, Tragedy *δορί*; the last form is also used in prose in military expressions.

The dat. sg. *δόρει* in the Tragedians, and the nom.-acc. pl. *δόρη* in Eurip. Rhes. 274 are forms of the *ᾅστυ* declension. Cf. the gen. *δόρεος* given by Herodian.

Inscriptional forms are: gen. sg. *δόρατος* Argive (Epidauros), S.G.D.I. 3340 (third century B. C.) = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 803, 64, *δόρατ[ος]* Delphian, S.G.D.I. 2501, 30 (380 B. C.) = Cauer 204, 30, *δορός*

<sup>1</sup> For a citation of forms see K.B., § 130, 457 f.

Thebes, metrical, C.I.G.S. 4247; dat. sg. *δόρατι* Kern, Inscr. v. Magn. 105, 106, *δόρατι* Late Cretan, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 929, 134 = Mus. Ital. iii, 570, n. 3, *δόρατι* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 368, 10 = Inscr. Cos 223, n. 345, *δόρατι* Ætolian, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 333, 3 = S.G.D.I. 1418, *δορί* Locrian, metrical, S.G.D.I. 1501; gen. pl. *γονάτων* Epidaurus, S.G.D.I. 3340, 111 = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 803, 111 (third century B. C. ?); dat. pl. *γονάτεσσι* Kaibel Ep. Gr. 782, *δοπάτεσσι* Bœotian, metrical, B.C.H. 24 (1900), 70.

For a list of cognates see above, p. 13. For further etymological connections with *δόρυ* see H. L. Ahrens, "*δρῦς* und seine Sippe" (1866), and especially Osthoff, *Etymologische Parerga* (1901) 100 ff., who embodies Ahrens' suggestions with many additions. He arranges the material under eight stem-forms: (1) *\*deru-* *\*deru-*, (2) *\*dorū-* *\*doru-*, (3) *\*dreu-*, (4) *\*drou-*, (5) *\*druu-*, (6) *\*drū-*, (7) *\*dru-*, (8) *\*drū-* or *\*drū-*.

For the Ablaut relation between Skt. *dāru-* *jānu-* and Grk. *δόρυ γόνυ*, etc., see Brug., Grd. i, 70 f., ii, 1205, note, i<sup>2</sup>, 139, and xliii, *Kurze Gr.* 74, 75, with literature cited in last two. Cf. also Meringer, *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien, 1892), bd. 125, 2, 21 ff.; J. Schmidt, *K.Z.* 32 (1893), 338; Hirt, *Akz.* 220, Ablaut 522, 772.

## II. NOUNS IN *-ūs -v*, GEN. *-vos*

This class includes (1) nouns belonging to Type II (long *ū*-stems), (2) nouns in *-ūs*, *-v*, belonging originally to Type I (short *u*-stems).

Exclusive of the small number of hypocoristics (see below, p. 64), and the nouns given under I above, all *u*-stem nouns in Greek, so far as their declension can be determined, belong to Class II.

There are about two hundred and forty Greek nouns with nom. in *-us* or *-v*, which belong, so far as there is any evidence, to this declension. As a matter of fact only about seventy or eighty of the two hundred and forty present enough forms to determine the declension. For the remainder the evidence is simply negative. About one hundred of the two hundred and forty have the suffix *-tu-* and are mostly feminine oxytones with long final. See the suffix *-tu-* below. Of the remaining one hundred and forty about half are known only from glosses, mainly in Hesychius, and hence as a rule these furnish no evidence for declension,



gender, or quantity of the final syllable. In the matter of accent the ratio of barytones to oxytones is about two to one, for these glosses. The figures given do not include proper names, for which no complete list was attempted, but of which about fifty examples were noted. So far as the proper nouns show any declension at all, it is that of Class II.

The remaining seventy,<sup>1</sup> i. e., excluding those known only from glosses, and those with suffix *-tu-*, furnish evidence for declension in about forty instances, about half determine the quantity of the final syllable, and all but half a dozen determine the gender. About forty-five of the seventy are barytones, almost equally divided into masculines, feminines, and neuters. The remaining twenty-five are oxytones and perispomena, and are all feminine except *ὁ ἰχθύς*, *ὁ μῦς* (an original *s*-stem), *ὁ* (but also *ῆ*) *σῦς*. The perispomenon *τὸ γρῦ* has the gen. sg. *τοῦ γρῦ* in Lucian, Lexiphanes c. 19, and hence may be classed as an indeclinable.

Of the twenty-five oxytones and perispomena about fifteen furnish evidence for quantity, either from the usage of the poets or the statements of grammarians. In no instance is the quantity shown to be short only, most have the long final, while a few show the syllable as both short and long. These are: *ἰχθύς* Hdn. i, 416; *ἰσχύς* Pindar Nem. 11, 31; *νηδύς* Hdn. i, 527, Callim., Dian. 160, Boeotian metrical inscription C.I.G.S. 2544 and 2545. *νηδύς* has long final in Anth. Pal. 9, 519, 2 and elsewhere. Homer has it in nom.-acc. sg., but only at end of line.

On the other hand of the forty-five barytones, only about fifteen furnish evidence for quantity. Here the final is usually short, but there are some cases of variation. In no instance is it long only. (The cry *Κόκκυ*, being indeclinable, does not constitute an exception.) Examples of variation are: *γένυν* Eurip. El. 1215, but *γένυς* Phoen. 63, *γένυ* Andr. 1181; *νέκυς* Il. 4, 492, 18, 180, etc., but *νέκυς* Eurip. Suppl. 70, etc., metrical inscription from Mysia B.C.H. 25 (1901), 327, *νέκυν* Boeotian, C.I.G.S. 2544; *χέλυς* Hom. Hymn Merc. 33, 153, 242, *χέλυς* Callim. Hymn Apoll. 16, Oppian 5, 404, Aratus 268; *στάχυς* Eurip. H. Fur. 5, elsewhere *στάχϋς*; *βότρυς*, *μακρῶς* Αττικοί, *βραχέως*

<sup>1</sup> It must be understood that all numbers are approximate.

Ἑλληνες, Moiris, 193, 10, quoted by Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 336, *βότρυν* metrical inscription C.I.G. Ins. i, 1, 781.

Exclusive of glosses and proper names, there are about one hundred and fifteen oxytones (ninety of these being nouns in *-τυς*), mainly feminine, and with long final, presumably belonging to Class II, and about fifty-five barytones, of all genders, and with short final, also belonging, so far as there is any evidence, to this class. It seems, therefore, safe to assert that the connection between accent and vowel-quantity is too marked to be accidental, and must reflect in some measure I.E. conditions. As noticed above, p. 21, *ū*-stems were prevailingly oxytone, while the *u*-type was probably originally barytone in the nom.-acc. sg. The relation in Greek, to be sure, may have become more uniform than it actually was in Indo-European. In general oxytones in *-ūs* are based on I.E. Type II, and barytones in *-υς* on I.E. Type I, with a transfer to Type II in the cases other than the nom.-acc. sg., yet the forms in *-ūs* are disproportionately frequent, as compared with *ū*-stems elsewhere, and must be due in part also to transfer from Type I. The reason why the transfer in Greek of Type I to Type II arose, or why, since it did become so general, the few examples of Type I were retained at all, is yet to be found. It is worthy of remark that of the small number given under I only *υῖς*, *ἄστυ*, and *γόνυ* do not have byforms of the *-υς -υος* declension either in actual use or in the statements of the grammarians. For the general problem of the ultimate origin of the two types and the relation of accent to quantity see the references on p. 8.

The nom. sg. ends in *-ūs*, *-ῦς*, masc. or fem., *-ῦ*, neuter. The acc. sg. has correspondingly *-ῦν*, *-ῦν*, *-ῦ*. (The forms with short vowel properly belong to Class I.)

Besides the more usual acc. sg. in *-ῦν* is found that in *-ua* from *-u-m*, as in Skt. *bhrūram*, L. *sucm*, or *-ua* may simply be a new formation after the acc. pl. in *-uas* (Brug., Grd. 2, 550, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 254; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 466). Such are: *ἰχθύα*, Theocr. 21, 45 and 26, 17, *τρικτύα· τριάδα* (Heysch.), *οἰζύα*, Quint. Smyrna, *νηδυά*, *ὀφρύα*, *δρύα* cited by Hdn. ii, 763 as rare forms, *βότρυα* ascribed to Euphorion by Chæroboscus 235, 20 ff. = Gram. Graeci iv, 1, 234, 1 = Hdn. ii, 711, 6.

The gen. sg. ends in *-vos* from *-υμος*, alike from nominatives in *-ῦς*, *-ῡς*, and *-ῥ*, and for all dialects so far as there is evidence. So *δρῡός* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 588, 7, 100, Delos (180 B. C.); *Κόρθος* nomen propr., Late Cretan, Mus. Ital. iii, 648, n. 61 = B.C.H. 13 (1889), 57; *Κόττος* nomen propr., J.H.S. 22 (1902), 128, Cyzicus; *τῆς ἰός* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 615, 14, Myconos (third century B. C.); *Πόλτος* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 2580, Fg. D. 174, Delphian; *Βίθτος* nomen propr., Thess., Hoffmann G.D. ii, 543, n. 18, 6; *Γέρυφος* nomen propr., Cyprian, Meister G.D. ii, 269, Hoff. i, 246. The ending *-vos* properly has the *υ* short as in other cases before a vowel, but rare instances of *-ῡος* occur, as *δρῡός* Hes. Op. 436, *ἰλῡος* Il. 21, 318.

The dat. sg., a loc. sg. in origin, ends in *-υ* from *-υμι*, as in Skt. *bhruvī*. *Κόρθυ* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 5032, Cretan; *Δρυί* nomen propr., S.G.D.I. 3758, 106, Rhodes; *Δέρμυ* nomen propr., dissyllabic, end of hexameter, C.I.G.S. 579 = S.G.D.I. 875, Boeotian (Tanagra); *νάπυ* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 804, 17, 21, Epidaurus (late); *ὄσφύ* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 602, 2 (third or fourth century B. C.), of Iasus, cf. Schweizer, Pergam. Inschr. 146, 147. For Homeric diphthong, Attic *-υί*, see K.B., § 125, anm. 4. Herodian ii, 347 asserts that the *υ* diphthong is never found at the end of a word, and explains Il. 16, 565 *νέκυ* (dissyllabic) as a case of synizesis like that in Il. 1, 15 *χρυσέω ἀνὰ σκήπτρῳ*. Arcadian *πληθί*, S.G.D.I. 1222, 20, is not *πληθυί* as Hoffman, G.D. 246, Herwerden, and G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 348, take it, but is rather the dat. sg. of *πλήθος*, perhaps with *-ι* by mistake for *-ει*.

The nom. pl. regularly ends in *-ves*, from *-υες*. There are some examples of a so-called contracted nom. pl. in *-ῡς*, properly an accusative form used as a nominative (Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 266; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 355). According to Ælius Dionysius 182 (Schwabe) = Eustath. 1835, 43, *αἱ κάχρῡς* was Attic. See K.B., § 125, anm. 3, for further examples.

In good Attic the acc. pl. ends in *-ῡς*. This is also the usual form in New Ionic, and it is found in Homer along with the other ending *-vas*. The ending *-vas* is found in late Attic, in New Ionic beside *-ῡς*, and frequently in Homer. Inscriptions present: *ἰ]χθῡς* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 584, 1, Smyrna; *στάχvas* C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 1188, metrical, Melos; *ῡς* Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 615, 13, Myconos, third century B. C.

The form in *-vas* is the one to be expected in original *ū*-stems from comparison with Skt. *bhrūvas*, etc., from *uṛns*. That in *-ūs* presents more difficulty. Brugmann formerly (Grd. 2, 678) explained *-ūs* as an extension of the ending which was regular in the case of words which were originally *ū*-stems (cf. Cretan *υῖνς*), but now (Kurze Gr. 391, 392) assumes that while this ending was retained in case of original *ū*-stems (*γένυς*), forms like *ὀφρῦς* are due to the influence of the acc. sg. *ὀφρῦν*, etc. (Cf. also Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 267, 2). But it is altogether unlikely that the history of *γενῦς* and *ὀφρῦς* is to be separated in this way. According to all evidence the type *-ŷs*, *-vos* was, except for quantity in nom.-acc. sg., a unit in all dialects, and we may safely assume that any dialect that preserved *\*γένυυς* would also have *\*ὀφρῦυς*, making the supposition that *ὀφρῦς* was due to an acc. sg. *ὀφρῦν* superfluous. That the *-υς*, *-ūs* was preserved in this class, while it was largely given up in the original *ū*-stems which remained in Class I, is of course not strange, since only in the latter were there forms in *-εφ-* to influence the ending.

The gen. pl. ends in *-vων*, from *-uṛ-ōm*, Skt. *bhruvām*. *βοτρώων* C.I.G. Ins. 476, 4 = S.G.D.I. 297, metrical, Mytilene; *ιχθύων* Mon. Ant. vi, 302, 6 = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 427, 6, Late Cretan, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 584, 9, Smyrna, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 615, 10, Myconos; *ῥῶων* Ditt.<sup>3</sup> 566, 14 = Michel 730, Pergamum.

To judge from the Skt. *bhrūṣū-*, etc., the Greek dat. pl. (a loc. pl. in origin) should end in *-ῦσι*. This seems to be retained in Homeric forms like *γένυσσι πῆλυσσι*, which can stand for *γένῦσι πῆλῦσι*, but aside from forms like this there is no trace of an original *-ῦσι*. It has been replaced instead by *-ῶσι*, usually explained as having the short vowel after the other cases where the *υ* is rightly short before a vowel ending as in the gen. sg. and pl. It is possible, however, that here again, as in the acc. pl., we may recognize the influence of the dat. pl. of the original short *u*-stems, this being retained in declension II, though lost in declension I, where it strictly belonged. Forms like *νεκύεσσι*, *σῦεσσι*, *σταχέεσσι*, etc., are due to the extension of the generalized dat. pl. ending *-εσσι*, for which see above under Class I.

The nom.-acc. dual has *-υε*, from *-υφ-ε*. For this *ε* see above

under Class I. For the dual  $\acute{\iota}\chi\theta\ddot{\upsilon}$  see G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 381; K.B., § 125, anm. 3. The gen.-dat. dual in  $-\upsilon\upsilon\iota\nu$  calls for no remark.

The nom.-acc. pl. neuter in  $-ua$  from  $-\upsilon\phi-a$  has the usual consonant ending  $-a$ .

In all the forms of this declension where the suffix has the form  $-u\acute{\iota}$ - the case-endings are those of the cons. stems, and this is true also of the dat. pl.<sup>1</sup>

Like the nouns of Class II are declined the adjectives  $\tauέρυς$  and  $φóλυς$ , and the adjective compounds with words belonging under II as final member. For the latter see below under Compounds.  $\tauέρυς$  is known only from Hesychius, who has the following glosses:  $\tauέρυς$ ·  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\thetaενές$ ,  $\lambdaεπτόν$ , and  $\tauέρυας$ ·  $\acute{\iota}\pi\piους$ ·  $οὕτω$  λέγονται ὅσοι ἀδδη-  
 $φάγοι$  εἰσί.  $\xi\nu\iota\omicron\iota$  τοὺς  $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\thetaενεῖς$ . Of  $φóλυς$  we have only the following statements:  $φóλυες$   $κύνες$ ·  $οἱ$   $\piυρροὶ$  ὄντες  $μέλανα$   $στόματα$   $εἶχον$ ·  $οἱ$  δὲ  $φύλακας$ , Hesychius, and  $φóλυς$ ·  $φóλυες$   $κύνες$   $παρὰ$   $τῷ$  Ἀντιμάχῳ, Hdn. ii, 938, 14, and i, 236, 26. It is probable that these two words  $\tauέρυς$  and  $φóλυς$  are substantives in origin.

*Suffix -u-<sup>2</sup> substantives.*—The suffix  $-u-$  is shown to be inherited in several words and is to be assumed for many more in which there is the short final  $-\upsilonς$  or  $-\upsilon$ . Its formations are regularly barytone, and have usually the strong grade of root. In declension they would belong historically under Class I, but most of them have been transferred to the declensional type of long  $\bar{u}$ -stems.

Examples of words with this suffix which follow the declension of Class I are:  $\gammaόνυ$ : Skt.  $jānu-$  n.;  $δόρυ$ : Skt.  $dāru-$  n. (for both see p. 13);  $πῆχυς$ : Skt.  $bāhū-$  m. f. (see p. 13);  $πῶν$ : Skt.  $pāyū-$  m. "herdsman," Skt.  $\sqrt{pā}$  "protect;"  $πέλεκυς$ : Skt.  $paraṣū-$  m.  $pārṣu-$  m. "axe."

Wheeler, *Gr. Nom. Accent* 110, considers the accent of  $πέλεκυς$  secondary in comparison with  $paraṣū-$ . Cf. Kretschmer, *Einleitung* 106, on etymology. Hesychius, s. v.  $\acute{\eta}\mu\acute{\iota}\piέλεκον$  has the gloss  $τὸ$  γὰρ  $δεκάμνον$   $πέλεκυ$  ( $πέλεκυς$  Musurus)  $καλεῖται$   $παρὰ$   $Παφίοις$ . On the Cyprian inscription from Idalium, S.G.D.I. 60, 15, we have  $\pi\epsilon$  as an abbreviation of

<sup>1</sup> For  $\bar{u}$ -stems in modern Greek, see above, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> But including some words in which the  $u$  obviously belongs to the root. See footnote, p. 12.

a word used as a measure of value. There is nothing to show declension in either case, and from Hesychius we should take the form to be neuter. It is usual, however, to supply the word in the Idalian inscription as  $\pi\epsilon[\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\varsigma]$ , so, e. g., Deecke, S.G.D.I. 60, Hoffmann, G.D. i, 72, and this is without doubt correct, as shown by Ahrens, *Philologus* 35 (1876), 67, citing Hesychius, s. v.  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ , and Eustathius, 1878, 56, under the form  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon\varsigma$ , though of course  $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\omega\upsilon\varsigma$  might equally well be neuter. Hesychius has  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$  . . .  $\sigma\tau\alpha\theta\mu\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\mu\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\delta\rho\chi\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$   $\omicron\acute{\iota}$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\delta\epsilon\kappa\alpha\mu\upsilon\upsilon\alpha\acute{\iota}\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  (MSS.  $\delta\omega\delta\epsilon\kappa$ ).

Instances of transfer to Class II are:  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\upsilon\varsigma$  precisely equivalent to Skt. *hānu-* (p. 13);  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\upsilon$  precisely equivalent to Skt. *mādhu-* (p. 13). Another instance of such transfer is, I believe (with Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 336),  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ , which has the long final in Homer, but the short in Euripides and later Epic (see above, p. 37). To  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$  the Av. *nasu-* f. "corpse" is exactly equivalent, and there seems little doubt that this has the short *-u*. The Av. acc. sg. *nasūm* is of no weight because of the frequent presence of *ū* for *u* before final *m*, a graphic matter merely (Jackson, Av. Gr., § 23; Bartholomae, Ir. Grd. i, § 268, 1). Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 180, places  $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$  tentatively under the suffix *-ū-* *-uμ-*. For an absurd etymology of the ancients (derivation from  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ ) see Cramer, *Anecd. Ox.* i, 296, 27.

Further examples of words with this suffix belonging to Class II are:  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$ :  $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ , etc.; cf. Hirt, *Ablaut* 510;  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$ , connected by Curtius, Grdz.<sup>5</sup> 341 with  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta$ , etc., from a  $\sqrt{\text{ark}}$  "weave;"  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\upsilon\varsigma$ , attributed by Etym. Mag. 148, 33, to Parthenius, and given as *Æolic* for  $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\varsigma$  by Hesychius, is thought by Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 231, possibly to be connected with L. *arcus*, O.E. *earh*, "arrow;"  $\gamma\eta\rho\upsilon\varsigma$ : O. Ir. *ga'r* "cry," L. *garriō*, etc., Brug., Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 575;  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon$ :  $\gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega$ , connected by Bezzenger, B.B. 27 (1902), 153, with Bulg. *glob* "hollow;"  $\kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\upsilon$ : Goth. *hails*, O.H.G. *heil* "whole, sound," O.E. *hael*, O.N. *heill* "omen," O.B. *cōlū* "sound," Hoffmann, B.B. 16 (1890), 240, Brug., Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 576;  $\kappa\omicron\rho\theta\upsilon\varsigma$ :  $\kappa\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\rho\eta$ ,  $\kappa\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ;  $\acute{\rho}\acute{\alpha}\pi\upsilon\varsigma$ : L. *rāpa*, O.H.G. *ruoba*, Germ. *Rübe* "rape;"  $\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\chi\upsilon\varsigma$ : O.H.G. *stanga* = Germ. *Stange*, cf. Eng. *sting*;  $\kappa\acute{\iota}\kappa\upsilon\varsigma$  seems to be a reduplicated form from the root *kūā* *kū* "swell," Grk.  $\kappa\upsilon\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ , etc., with *υ* as part of the root, not as suffix. See Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 166, and Hirt, *Ablaut* 386.

*Suffix -tu-<sup>1</sup> substantives.*—The formations in Greek with this suffix fall into two groups, one a so-called primary, with nouns like ἀγορητής, βρωτής, etc., and a so-called secondary, with numerals like ἑκατοστής, χιλιοστής, etc. All the latter and a great majority of the former are *nomina actionis*. See the list for Homer below, all of which are of this kind. Exceptions, real or apparent, are: ἄστν, βλέτν, δίκτν, δίκτνς, ἴτνς, καττῆς, κλιτῆς, μάρπτνς, μίτνς, μόττνς, πίτνς, φῖτν, φῖτνς. Without doubt the suffix -tu- was not consciously felt in any of these, and δίκτν, δίκτνς, καττῆς, μίτνς do not in all probability contain the suffix -tu- at all. δίκτν is given only by Etym. Mag. 275, 25, as from δίκτυον “net,” but is probably only a figment of the grammarian. δίκτνς is some sort of animal mentioned only in Hdt. 4, 192, and by Hesychius. With καττῆς “a piece of leather” (Aristophanes) cf. καττῆς κασσύνω from \*κατ-σινῶ. μίτνς “bees-wax” is found (*ter*) in one passage in Aristotle, H.A. 9, 40, 10. Its etymology is uncertain. μόττνς is known only from Hesychius, who has μόττνς· οἱ ἔ[γ]κλυτοι καὶ παρειμένοι.

Of the others, βλέτνς “leech,” known only from the Hesychian gloss βλέτνς· αἱ βδέλλαι, is taken by Lobeck, Rhematicon 14, from a verb βλέω (cf. βλεῖ· βλίσσει, ἀμέλγει, Hesych.), with mistaken accent for βλετῆς. It may have had the same development of meaning from “a sucking” to “sucker” seen in Skt. *māntu-* “counsel” and “counsellor.” So also μάρπτνς, known only from the Hesychian gloss μάρπτνς· ὑβριστής, probably with mistaken accent for μαρπτῆς, from meaning “insolence” could come to mean “an insolent person.” This word has been read in Æsch. Suppl. 826, where, however, the MSS. readings are corrupt and μάρπτνς is now commonly given.

Connected with the root *bheu* “be, become,” are φῖτν, found for φῖτνμα in Aristophanes and Eupolis, and φῖτνς, used by Lycophron and frequently mentioned by grammarians. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 96, suggests that φῖτνς “begetter,” and φῖτν “the thing begotten,” both rest on an abstract \*φῖτνς “the begetting.”

<sup>1</sup> For the suffix cf. Lobeck, Paralipomena 439 ff.; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333 ff.; K.B., § 329, 28, 272; Brugmann, Grd. 2, 304, 308, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 220, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 95.

*ἄστυ*, *ῖτυς*, *πίτυς* are almost the only words with this suffix for which direct cognates are found in other languages (see below, p. 50), and these with *κλιτύς* are the only words, except numerals, in use through a wide range of authors, yet these are just the words for which there was in Greek no consciousness of suffixal *-τυ-*. *ἄστυ* from the root *ues*, "dwell," no doubt originally meant "dwelling" in the abstract. (See below, p. 50.) So *ῖτυς* (p. 50) "circle" can easily have developed from "a rounding." *κλιτύς* from the root *k̂lei*, "lean," can have developed the meaning "hill" from "a sloping, leaning." *πίτυς* "pine" (p. 50) is not so easy and constitutes, perhaps, the sole exception to the rule.

There are not quite one hundred Greek nouns in *-τύς* and only *ἄστυ*, *φίτυ*, and *δίκτυ* in *-τυ*. Of the latter, *ἄστυ* is neuter, and so presumably are *φίτυ* and *δίκτυ*, though there is no specific evidence to that effect.

For the nouns in *-τύς* I have found evidence for feminine gender in twenty and for masculine in only one, *ὁ φίτυς* (Eustathius). For the remainder there is no evidence, but except *δίκτυς* (doubtful at the best, see above) in all of them the *-τυς* has the same function that it has in those undoubtedly feminine, and hence there is every reason to assign to these also the feminine gender. Liddell and Scott give *δίκτυς*, Hdt. 4, 192, and *κτιστύς*, Hdt. 9, 97, as masculine, but there is nothing in Herodotus to show the gender, and the meaning and formation of *κτιστύς* justify Schweighäuser (Lex. Hdt.) in taking it as feminine. Some, like *μάρπτυς*, for which there is no evidence, may, however, have been masculine because of special use with reference to a person (cf. *φίτυς*). So Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch, without evidence gives *μάρπτυς* as masculine.

The accent of the neuters *ἄστυ*, *φίτυ*, *δίκτυ*(?) is barytone, in agreement with what appears to be the I.E. rule for *u*-stem neuters (above, p. 12).

The accent of the nouns in *-τύς* is oxytone except in the following instances: *βλέτυς*, *δίκτυς*, *ῖτυς*, *μάρπτυς*, *μίτυς*, *μόττυς*, *πίτυς*, *πλάτυς*, *φίτυς*, Æolic *χέλληστυς* not constituting a real exception.

*πλάτυς* is found only in Hesychius and is probably a mistake



for *πλάτις*. For the others see above, p. 43. *δίκτυς* and *μίτυς* do not count, since they hardly contain the suffix *-tu-*.

In declension, so far as known, nouns in *-τύς -τυ* follow Class II except *ἄστυ*, which belongs to Class I. As a matter of fact, over thirty of the total are known only from glosses and hence declension, etc., cannot as a rule be determined, and of the remainder only about thirty have any evidence for declension. On the other hand, there is no evidence that any substantive in *-τυς -τυ*, except *ἄστυ*, belongs to Class I.

For the quantity of the final syllable in the nom. and acc. sg. we have the statements of the grammarians and the usage of the poets. There is evidence from the latter source for the quantity in only a few words. Homer has the long vowel in *ἄκοντιστός* Il. 23, 622; *βρωτός* Il. 19, 205, Od. 18, 407; *κλιτός* Od. 5, 470, but in Attic this word has a short final (cf. K.B., § 125, anm. 2); *μνηστός* Od. 16, 294, Od. 19, 13; *ὀρχηστός* Il. 13, 731, a line bracketed by Dindorf. Callimachus has the long vowel in *δῖστυς*, read by Scaliger in Hymn to Apollo 42, where Schneider retains the MSS. *-την*. Homer has a short vowel in *ἵτυς* Il. 5, 724, Lycophron shows a short vowel in *φίτυς* 462, 486, and Apollonius Rhodius has *θελκτύν* with short vowel, i, 515, but Lobeck, Paral. 440, would read *θέλκτιν* because the final is short and the MSS. vary in accent. Liddell and Scott give *ἐπητύς* with short *ῠ*, and *ὄτρυντύς* with long *ῡ*, but there is no evidence for either. There is nothing in Homer to show that any oxytone in *-τύς* has a short final. The testimony of the grammarians is to the effect that feminine oxytones have the long *ῡ* in the final syllable. Cf. Lentz' edition of Herodian i, 527 and footnote. The short final in *κλειτύς* in Sophocles and Euripides is explained as an extension of the short vowel from the oblique cases. So Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333, and Brugmann, I.F. 11 (1900), 273, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 178. Such instances of shortening by analogy are not confined to nouns in *-τυς*; cf. K.B., § 125, anm. 2. With the exception of *κλειτύς* in Attic, and the isolated and doubtful *θελκτύς*, it may be said that, so far as we have evidence, oxytones in *-τυς* had long *ῡ*, while barytones in *-τυς* had short *ῠ*.

Nouns with the suffix *-tu-* in the related languages (pp. 13 f.)

are mainly masculine barytones with short final. The Greek presents a striking contrast with its preponderance of feminine oxytones with long final.

So far as I know, Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 333, is the only one who definitely sets up the suffix *-tū-* for these Greek oxytones, in contrast to the *-tū-* seen in *ἴτυς*, *φίτυς*, etc., and in the formations (chiefly masculine barytones) of other languages. By his view the suffix *-tū-* does not appear outside of Greek except in extensions such as Lettic *-tuv-ā-*, L. *-tūt-*, *-tūti-*, and *-tūdōn-*. Others who have spoken of the suffix in Greek have given it as parallel to that found in Sanskrit, Latin, Germanic, etc. So for example, Von Bahder, *Verbalabstrakta* 94; Hirt, *Akzent* 221; and especially Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 308, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 220.

Of course no one will deny that the suffix of the Greek oxytones has a long vowel. The question is whether Greek inherited from the parent speech two different suffixes *-tū-* and *-tū-*, or the quantity of the Greek *-τῦ-* is secondary. I am inclined to the latter opinion. In formation these nouns in *-τυς* bore an at least apparently close relation to verbals in *-τός*, accented on the final; cf. *βοητύς* : *βοάω*, *ἀγορητύς* : *ἀγοράομαι* with *ἀγαπητός* : *ἀγαπάω*, *κοσμητός* : *κοσμέω*. Hence the oxytone accent, even if itself secondary, must have been of early origin. Then their gender is feminine either from the influence of other abstracts, like those in *-σις*, *-τις*, which were feminine (so Brugmann, *Grd.* 2, 304; cf. Von Bahder, *loc. cit. supra*, on orig. gender), cf. the case in West Germanic, above, p. 14, or were themselves originally feminine (Delbruck, *Grd.* 3, 118; cf. Brug., *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 220). In either case the feminine gender must have been of early origin. With this agreement in accent and gender it was most natural that there should be agreement also in the quantity of the final with those nouns which formed the basis of I.E. Type II as represented in the Greek Class II (above, pp. 20 f., 36). Furthermore the suffix performs the same function as is performed by *-tu-* in related languages. Hence I do not consider it necessary to assume an I.E. suffix *-tū-*.

It is frequently stated that the suffix belongs particularly to the Ionic dialect. Eustathius 1180, 6 gives it as Ionic, but

Didymus on Il. 2, 600 calls it Æolic. The statement that it is Attic, made by the scholiast on Il. 19, 233, is clearly an error, and there is a v. l., Ἀντιμάχειος for Ἀττικῇ. Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch 291, and L. and S. (*passim*) give it as an Ionic suffix. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 220, says it is especially productive in Ionic; cf. his Grd. 2, 308. In K.B., § 329, it is said to be "poetic and dialectic," while Herwerden. Lex. Graecum suppl. et dial., s. v. ἐπισμυκτύν, βαλλητός, ἀπαστός, asserts that it is a favorite suffix in Ionic and Cretan. An analysis of the material gives the following results.<sup>1</sup>

There are thirteen found in Homer only, or in Homer and glosses in Hesychius, Eustathius, etc., viz., ἀγορητός (1), ἀκοντιστός (1), ἀλαωτός (1), βοητός (1), δαιτός (1), ἔδητός *passim*, ἐλεητός (2), ἐπητός (1), μνηστός (3, also in Anacreon?), ὀαριστός (3), ὀτρυντός (*bis*, same passage), ῥυστακτός (1), τανυστός (1).

There are seven in Homer that are also found in other authors, viz., βρωτός Homer (2), Anth. Pal., and Philoxenus *ap.* Athenæus, γραπτός Homer (1), Apoll. Rh., and grammarians, κιθαριστός Homer (1), Phanocles *ap.* Stobæus, ὄρχηστός Homer, Eurip. (1), Lucian (1), ἴτυς (p. 44) Hom., Hdt., Eurip., Xen., Galen, etc., κλε(ι)τός (p. 44) Hom., Eurip., Soph., Lycophron, Nicander, πίτυς (p. 44) Hom., Hdt., Plutarch.

Callimachus has the following: ἀρπακτός (1), ἀσπαστός *ap.* Suidas (1), γελαστός (1), διωκτός (1), μαστός *ap.* schol. (1), [ὄϊστευτός] (1). Callimachus and Manetho have ἀλητός.

Homeric Hymn to Apollo 162 has [κρεμβαλιαστός].

Herodotus has: [καταπλαστός] (1), κτιστός (1), ληϊστός (1), δίκτυς (p. 43), ἴτυς (p. 44), πίτυς (p. 44).

Hippocrates has φλεγμαντός as a v. l., viii, 96, and no others.

The usage of other writers is as follows: Soph. κλειτός (p. 44); Eurip. ὄρχηστός, ἴτυς (p. 44), κλειτός; Aristophanes καττός (p. 43), φίτυ *ap.* Eustath. (p. 43); Thuc. πεντηκοστός; Philoxenes *ap.* Athenæus βρωτός; Plato σωφρομιστός; Aristotle μίτυς (p. 43); Xen. ἴτυς (p. 43), ἑκατοστός, μυριοστός, πεντήκοστός, χιλιοστός; Antimachus *ap.* schol. πωρητός; Æschines and Demosthenes

<sup>1</sup> Figures in parentheses after a word refer to the number of occurrences. Reference is made to pp. 43 f. for words listed there as not consciously having the suffix *-tu-*. Words due to emendation are bracketed.

τριπτός; Lycophron φῖτος (p. 43), κλειτός (p. 44); Eratosthenes *ap. schol.* ἀντιμαχηστός; Apoll. Rh. θελκτός (a doubtful word), γραπτός; Phanocles *ap. Stobæus* καθαριστός; Anth. Pal. βρωτός, [ἀλαλητός]; Manetho ἀλητός; Nicander κλειτός; Plutarch πίτος (p. 44), ἑκατοστός; Lucian ὀρχηστός, τετρακτός; Galen ἴτος; Oppian ποθητός.

Cretan inscriptions have ἀμφαντός (written ἀμπαντός), ὀπυστός, Lex Gort. sixth century B. C. (see Searles, *Lex. Stud.*), and the possible ἐρετός, *Mon. Ant.*, iii, 67, n. 127.

The following are found in Hesychius only: [ἀειεστός], ἀπεσ-τός, [ἀποδαστός], ἀρτός, βλέτος (p. 43), δειπνηστός, δωμητός, [ἐήτός], ἐλεντός a mistake for ἐλεητός, [ἐπεικτός], θατός, [ιατός], μάρπτως (p. 43), ξιφιστός, [ὀργητός], ὀρεκτός, πλάτως (p. 44), ποτητός, [τρικτός], φραστός, χαλεπτός, γραμβαστός, ὠρητός. Hesychius has ζωεύς· ἡ ζωτός· θώραξ. This has been corrected to ζωγός ἡ ζωτός from Cyrillus, who has ζωγύν θώρακα. Perhaps ζωτός is a mistake for \*ζωστός.

To be found in the *Etym. Mag.* only are: ἀπαστός, δίκτυ (p. 43), πρακτός. Suidas alone has ἀφραστός and δωτός. Bekker A.G. has ἀβολητός and this is restored in Hesychius. Hesychius and Athenæus have βαλλητός. Theognostus in *Anecd. Cram.* ii, 16, 1 has ἰκτός.

Brugmann, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 220, cites a form ἀποκοντιστός not known to me from other sources, and probably a mistake for ἀκοντιστός. He also has a form τακτός in *Ber. sächs. G. d. W.*, 1901, 95 not known to me from other sources. Pape, *Etym. Wörterbuch*, cites ἀκεστός, which I do not find elsewhere. Herwerden, *Lex. suppl.*, etc., emends Hesychius and reads ἐπισμυκτύν.

A complete list of the numerals in -τός<sup>1</sup> is as follows: ἑκατοστός Xen., Plutarch, Inscriptions; μυριοστός Xen. (1); πεντακοντός doubtful word, *schol. on Od.* 3, 7; πεντακοσιοστός *Etym. Mag.*; πεντηκοστός Thuc., Xen.; τετρακτός Pythagoreans and Lucian; χιλιαστός Bechtel, *Ion. Inschr.* 221 and 147, 20; χιλιοστός Xen.; χέλληστος *Æol. inscr.* S.G.D.I. 276; πεντεχιλιοστός *Eccel.*, and finally the various forms τριτός, τριπτός, τρικτός, τριπτός.

The form τριπτός on an inscription from Ceos of the second

<sup>1</sup> For the numerals in -τός see K.-B., § 330, 12, *h.*, 285, Brug., *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup>, § 248, 2 with the literature cited.

century B. C., Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 934, 6, is an error for *τριπτός* or *τρικτός*. This *τρικτός* is an emendation for *τρικτηῆς* in Hesychius demanded by the alphabetical order and borne out by Delphian *τρικτηύαν*, Cauer<sup>2</sup>, 204, 34, and by Delian *τρικτηρχοῦντος* of the second century B. C., Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 588, 19. Hence Dittenberger, *loc. cit.*, for *τριπτός* is inclined to read *τρικτός*. Hesychius has *τριτός*· *τρίας*, and *τριπτός* is found in Æschines, Demosthenes, C.I.A. ii, 871, 1053, 500, 502, 517, 518, C.I.G. Sic. et It. 1363, 10, and perhaps elsewhere. *τρικτός* from *τρίχα* is probably the original form and *τριπτός* arose under the influence of *τριπτός* = \**τριχίος*, *τριτός* under that of *τριτός*. (So Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 248, 2; cf. Schulze, K.Z. 33 [1895], 395.)

It is clear from the above that numerals form a class by themselves and appear to have been made as freely in Attic and other dialects as in Ionic. Excluding, therefore, the numerals and the words listed on p. 43, since in the latter there was no consciousness of the presence of a suffix *-tu-*, the situation for the remainder may be summarized as follows:

The suffix is found (1) in poetry: Homer twenty examples, Callimachus six or seven, and scattering in others; (2) in prose: (a) Ionic, Herodotus three, and one of these an emendation, Hippocrates one; (b) Non-Ionic, Lucian *ὀρχηστὺς* (Timon c. 55) also found in Homer and Euripides; Plato *σωφρονιστὺς*; Athenæus (Ulpian) *βαλλητὺς* (406, d, 407, c); (3) in Cretan inscription of the sixth century B. C. two words, and the Hesychian gloss *θατὺς*· *θεωρία*, which may be Cretan as Herwerden suggests, and is at any rate not Ionic.

There is no indication of dialect in the numerous glosses, except in Eustathius as given above, p. 46. Considering the relative infrequency of the suffix in Ionic prose,<sup>1</sup> or indeed in any prose, one is led to wonder whether the use of it is not after all an indication not of dialect but of antiquity. The Cretan examples belong to the sixth century B. C., and among the poets Homer

<sup>1</sup> I cannot understand the statement made by Smyth, *Ionic Dialect* 396: "Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in *-tys* in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. *βρωτὺς*, *κτιστὺς*, *ἐδητὺς*, *ὄτρυντὺς* . . ." In his list of eight examples one (*νηδὺς*) does not contain the suffix at all, *ἀρτὺς* is known only from Hesychius, *βρωτὺς*, *ἐδητὺς*, *ὄτρυντὺς* are Homeric, not Attic, while *κτιστὺς*, *ληστὺς*, and *φλεγμαντὺς* constitute the only examples of this suffix in Ionic prose, except the emendation *καταπλαστὺς* in Herodotus.

uses the suffix most freely. The few instances of its use among prose writers might be due to poetical reminiscence. If, however, its use in Homer be taken as Ionic, it must be said that the suffix was not confined to that dialect, but belonged to Cretan as well, and possibly to Doric in general.

Very few Greek nouns with this suffix have cognates in the related languages, and those which do are the very ones in which the presence of the suffix was no longer felt in the Greek word, e. g., *ἴτυς*: L. *vitus* m., *ἰμεῖ* "wind;" *πίτυς*: Skt. *pītū-* m. "juice, food, drink," above, p. 14; *ἄστυ*: Skt. *vāstu-* n. "abode," *ἰμεσ* "dwell." The vowel relation is obscure (Hübschmann, *Vocal-system* 166), perhaps *uas*, *uēs*, strengthened grade, by influence of the heavy series. Cf. Buck, *A.J.P.* 17 (1896), 285, and Reichelt, *K.Z.* 39 (1903), 47, *sēd* original strengthened grade of *sed*, but from it *səd* (?).

Aside from the numerals, words of this formation are mostly directly related to Greek verbs. For example, Homer has: *ἀγορητύς* to *ἀγοράομαι*, *ἄκοντιστύς* to *ἄκοντίζω*, *ἀλαωτύς* to *ἀλαώω*, *βοητύς* to *βοάω*, etc.; cf. the list for Homer above.

*Change of τυ to συ (ἥμισυς).*—The question of the change of *τυ* to *συ* has been treated most recently by Lagerkrantz, *Zur gr. Lautgeschichte* (Upsala, 1898) 121 ff., and, more fully, by Brugmann, *Ber. sächs. G. d. W.*, 1901, 89 ff. Brugmann had formerly (*Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 42) rejected the change of *τυ* to *συ* as a phonetic development, but now accepts it as phonetic except initially and after consonants. He ascribes the frequent presence of *τυ* after vowels in words in *-τυς* to the influence of words like *μνηστύς*, etc., where *τυ* coming after a consonant did not change. He does not, like Lagerkrantz, limit the phenomenon to *τύ*, but admits it for both *τυ* and *τύ*. His general conclusions are accepted by Kretschmer, *Berlin. Phil. Woch.*, 1902, 1492–95.

The most certain example of *συ* in the suffix is *ἥμισυς*. In view of Cretan *ἡμιτυ-έκτω* and Epidaurian *ἡμίτειαν*, few will question the accuracy of Brugmann's statement (*loc. cit.*, 91) that the suffix in *ἥμισυς* is identical with that in *τρικτύς*, *τετρακτύς*, *πεντηκοστύς*, etc., that the word was originally a substantive, early became neuter after *τὸ ὅλον*, and thereupon became an adjective,

ἥμιους and ἥμισυ being already in use. That the suffix was -τυ had been suggested as early as 1886 by Bechtel in his review of the first edition of Brugmann's grammar, *Philologischer Anzeiger* xvi, 16. That the feeling for the suffix should be soon lost, and hence that the treatment should be different from that of other numerals in -τυς is not surprising in view of the special meaning of ἥμιους.

The forms of the different dialects present two types: (a) those in -τυ- or -συ-, (b) those in -σσο- or -σο-. In Brugmann's list the most important citations for the former are: Cretan [ῥ]μιτυ-έκτω, *Mus. Ital.* ii, 166, n. 8, l. 3, in the sense of ἡμίεκτον; Epidaurian οἶνον ἡμίτειαν, *Εφ. Αρχ.*, 1899, 1, n. 1 = Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 938, 9, 27; Phocian τὸ ἥμισυ, *S.G.D.I.* 1547, 7, called "vorrömisch" in the *Sammlung*, *loc. cit.*; and for the latter: Cretan τὰ ἥμισσα, *Mus. Ital.* iii, 601 ff., 7; Epid. τὸ ἥμισσον, *S.G.D.I.* 3325, 15. In addition to the forms cited by Brugmann I may add for a: Paros ἥμισυ, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 569, 6 (300-250? B. C.); Magnesia ἡμίσει, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 552, 84 = Kern, *Magn.* n. 100 (second century B. C.), Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 554, 15 = Kern, n. 99 (second century B. C.); Lebadea ἡμισέων, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 540, 44 = *I.G. Sept.* i, 3073 (175-171 B. C.); Teos ἡμισείας τὰς, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 177, 8 (306-301 B. C.); Megara ἥμυσυ, *C.I.G. Sept.* i, 43 (third century B. C.); Oropus ἥμυσυ, *C.I.G. Sept.* i, 3498 (200 B. C.); Halicarnassus ἥμυσυ, Bechtel, *Ion.* 241, ἥμισυ, *C.I.G. Ins.* i, 3, 1119, 7 (Roman period); Thera τὰ ἡμίση, *C.I.G. Ins.* i, 3, 330, 197 (210-195 B. C.); and for b: Cretan τὸ ἥμισσον, *Mon. Ant.* vi, 302, 7 = Michel 440, 7 (fourth century B. C., Michel); Cos ἡμίσση, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 598, 58 = *S.G.D.I.* 3627 (late); ἥμισος, *C.I.G. Sic. et It.* 2030 (Roman period); Astypalea ἡμίση, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 493, 11 = *C.I.G. Ins.* i, 3, 168, 12 (first century B. C.); Megara ἥμισον, *S.G.D.I.* 3052, a (late).

The two forms with τ, Cretan [ῥ]μιτυ-έκτω and Epidaurian ἡμίτειαν are both early, before the close of the fifth century B. C. The earliest examples of ἥμισσο- are Delphian, Epidaurian, and Cretan, all of the fourth century B. C., one occurrence of each. The examples of ἥμισο- are all later than the second century B. C.

Because of the forms in τ, Brugmann rightly rejects the view of G. Meyer and Meillet that ἥμισσο- arose from I.E. \*sēmi-syo-

and also the view of J. A. Smith, I.F. 12 (1901), 4, that *ἡμις* is formed from the old loc. pl. of the stem *sēmi-* (\**sēmīssu* "in halves"). But Brugmann continues:

Aber, wie bei \**sēmi-suo-*, gerät man auch bei der Zurückführung von -*σοο-* auf uridg. -*tl̥o-* (C. A. Müller, *De litera Σ*, pp. 62, 68) mit den Lautgesetzen in Konflikt wegen kret. *ἡμισσα*, für das \**ἡμιττα* zu erwarten wäre (G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 350, K.B. i, 640). Nur mit der Annahme ist durchzukommen, dass \**ἡμιτυ-* in urgriechischer Zeit zu *ἡμισυ-* geworden war. Dieses wurde in die *o*-Deklination übergeführt. Dabei oder darauf wurde *υ* (*u*) konsonantisch, und solches \**ἡμισφο-ν* (\**ἡμισϝο-ν*) ergab weiterhin *ἡμισσον* (cf. lesb. *ἴσσοσ* = kret. *ῥίσφος*). In analoger Weise entstand *γλυκκόν*, älter \**γλυκϝον*, aus *γλυκύ*. Hiernach hat epid. *ἡμίτειαν* sein altes lautgesetzliches *τ* bewahrt, während die Formen homer. *ἡμίσεις* u.s.w. ihr *σ* von *ἡμις* -*συ* bezogen haben; umgekehrt kret. [*ῥ*] *μιτυ-* für *ἡμισυ-* nach den auf der Stammgestalt \**ἡμιτεϝ-* beruhenden Formen.

The Cretan inscription cited by Brugmann (*Mus. Ital.* iii, 610) for the form *ἡμισσα* is datable by the name of the king somewhere between 277 and 239 B. C. It contains the non-Cretan gen. sg. *πόλεως*, and the more significant form *πράσσεν*, l. 14. The still earlier Cretan inscription, not cited by Brugmann (*Mon. Ant.* vi, 302), is dated by Michel in the fourth century B. C. But this has *πόλεως*, the acc. pl. in -*ους* not -*ους*, and the form *τὰν θάλασσα* [ν l. 18. So far as evidence is at hand it is known that those dialects which have *ττ* from -*k̥i-*, etc., have also *ττ* from -*tl̥-*, and that the treatment is exactly parallel. In other words we should expect *ττ* from -*tl̥-* wherever we find *πράττειν*, etc. In accordance with this, Meyer, Blass, and Brugmann are manifestly correct in assuming that in Cretan we should expect \**ἡμιττα*. The fact that in the Cretan inscriptions that do have *ἡμισσο-* we also find *σσ* in *πράσσω* and *θάλασσα* is conclusive proof that the Cretan forms *ἡμισσον* and *ἡμισσα* show nothing as to the actual condition in early Cretan, and hence cannot be taken as evidence for a proethnic Greek change of *ἡμιτυ-* to *ἡμισυ-*.

So far, therefore, as the forms of *ἡμις* are concerned, the change may or may not have taken place in prehistorical Greek. It is entirely possible that the change of *τυ* to *συ* took place in historical Greek times and that forms like *ἡμισσον* (Cretan and



Boeotian \**ῥμιπτον*) arose from \**ῥμιττον* before the change. In that case the most natural supposition is that the relation of *τυ* to *συ* is dialectic, and on this assumption we should expect *τυ* in those dialects which have *δίδωτι*, etc., and *συ* in those which have *δίδωσι*, etc. Against this assumption are the forms: Phocian *ῥμισυ* (S.G.D.I. 1547, 7), with a 3d sg. in *-τι*, Theran *ῥμίση* (C.I.G. Ins. i, 3, 330, 197), with 3d pl. *λάβοντι*, and Megarian *ῥμυσυ* (C.I.G. Sept. i, 43). The Teian inscription (Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 177, 8) with *ῥμίσειας* has also *ἔχουσι*. Other forms with *συ* in Doric dialects are so late as hardly to count. And the two most important forms (Phocian *ῥμισυ* and Theran *ῥμίση*) are also so late that in spite of the presence of true Doric characteristics in the inscriptions the forms in *συ* may be due to the *κοινή*.

*Suffix -iū- substantives.*—This is seen only in *νίς*, and perhaps also in *οἰζύς* (with change to long *ū* under influence of feminine gender and oxytone accent), if Bezzenberger's etymology, B.B. 26 (1902), 168, is correct. He takes *οἰζύς* from \**οἰδινς*, \**ο-φιδινς*, in Ablaut with Lett. *waidēt* "complain, lament," *waidi* "complaint, lament," and hence belonging to Lett. *wai* "ah, woe," Goth. *vai*, O.H.G. *wē*, L. *vae*.

*Suffix -nu- substantives.*—This is found in *θρήνυς*: *θρᾶ-νός*, Skt. *√dhr̥* "hold." *λαγνύς* (*ν̄* Tryphiodorus), hence with transfer to *ν̄* under influence of gender and accent, is uncertain etymologically and can be placed here only with reservation.

*Suffix -ru- substantives.*—The most certain example is *δάκρυ*: L. *dacruma*, *lacruma*, O. Welsh *daer*, Corn. *dagr*, Goth. *tagr*, O.H.G. *zahar*, Eng. *tear*, all in sense of "tear;" cf. above, p. 16. Another, less certain, is *μάστρυς*: *μάστροπος*, *μαστεύω*, etc. The words *βότρυς*, *κάχρυς*, and *ὄστρύν*, a sort of tree, are too uncertain etymologically to admit decision as to suffix.

*Suffix -lu- substantives.*—This suffix is probable in *ἄχλυσ*. Berneker, *Die Preussische Sprache* 278, connects O. Prussian *aglo* "rain" (for *aglu*), and suggests on the basis of *akh*: *ak* the possible connection also of Lith. *āklas* "blind," L. *aquilō* "north-wind." Cf. Fick i<sup>3</sup>, 474. On the other hand Fick i<sup>4</sup>, 348 separates *ἄχ-λυσ* from Lith. *āklas*, L. *aquilus* "dark," and says it probably belongs with *νυχ-*. Even in that case the suffix would be *-lu-*.

See also G. Meyer, Alban. Wörterbuch s. v. *akul* "ice." The suffix is also probable in ἔγχελυς. Cf. ἔχλις, L. *anguis*, etc., though the vowel relation is not clear, and direct connection is improbable.

*Suffix -gu- substantives.*—Cf. above, p. 16. This suffix is frequently assigned to πρέσβυς. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W. 1889, 53, compared the suffix in ἐγγύς, μεσσηγύς, Lith. *žmogùs* "man," Skt. *vanargū-* "roaming in the forest," *puro-gavá-* "leader." Cf. his article in K.Z. 24 (1879), 62. Bezzenger, B.B. 4 (1878), 345, compared Skt. *adhriḡu-* "irresistibly advancing" and *vanargū-*, and gave to the *gu* the meaning "going." For a less plausible meaning see Curtius, Grdz.<sup>5</sup> 479. Though Brugmann, Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 595, says that only uncertain guesses have been made about the latter part of the word, he tacitly accepts in his Kurze Gr. 473 the meaning "going" by translating πρέσβυς "im Alter vorausgehend." Cf. also his Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 127, and Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 754.

As regards the distribution of the forms βυ- and γυ- the latter is seen in, or to be inferred from, most of the forms outside of Attic-Ionic. Thus Cretan: πρεῖγυς S.G.D.I. 4992, πρήγιστος, etc., S.G.D.I. 5034; πρειγευτῶν gen. pl. S.G.D.I. 5167, 11, from which the frequently cited πρέισγυς is inferred. Boeotian: πρισγείες S.G.D.I. 705, 6 (πρισγέες, on stone) = C.I.G. Sept. 2418; πρισγεί[ες B.C.H. 25 (1901), 137; πρισγεί[ας C.I.G.S. 1720. Chæroboscus 234, 23 = Bekker, A.G. 1413, = Gram. Græci iv, 1, p. 233, 7 gives πρέισγυς πρέισγυος as Doric. Hesychius and Etym. Mag. 723, 17, have σπέργυς· πρέσβυς.

The Attic-Ionic regularly has the forms with βυ, and so far as I know this appears elsewhere only in Thessalian S.G.D.I. 345, 12, and Lesbian; cf. Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 500.

The forms with γ would be phonetic in those cases where *g<sup>u</sup>* came before *u*, those with β in cases where *g<sup>u</sup>* was not followed by *u*. Then we must assume leveling in one direction in some dialects and in the opposite direction in others. Cf. Brugmann, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1889, 53. Schulze's assumption of dissimilation (Gött. gel. Anz., 1896, 249), Doric πρέσγ[ε]ες from \*πρεσγφεες, is less plausible.

For the first part of the word see Brugmann, *Kurze Gr.* 473, I.F. 13 (1902), 164, Grd. 2, 402, 406, Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1889, 53, K.Z. 24 (1879), 62; Per Persson, *Studia Etym.* 95; Baunack, *Inscr. v. Gort.* 30; G. Meyer, *Gr. Gr.*<sup>3</sup> 184; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 26 (1883), 381. Cf. also on the word *Etym. Mag.* 687, 11; *Herodian* ii, 324.

The word *στλεγγύς*, name of a plant, found only in Theophrastus, H. Pl. 8, 4, 3, may contain this suffix, but the etymology is uncertain.

*Suffix -ū- substantives.*—Words with this suffix in Greek are prevailingly feminine and with the accent on the final syllable. It is probable that Greek inherited the use of *ū* under the accent to represent feminines, as the same use is found in Sanskrit, but there is no Greek word with this suffix which has been shown to have cognates with long *ū* in other languages, unless it be *χέλυσ*, see below. The root-nouns in long *ū* may have been the starting-point for the use of the *ū* as a suffix in both Sanskrit and Greek. Of these root-nouns Greek has some which show the inherited *ū*. These are given here, although it is understood, of course, that in them the *ū* is not a suffix.

Examples of such root-nouns<sup>1</sup> are: *ῥς σῶς*: L. *sūs*, Umbr. *sim*; *ἰχθῦς* m.: Lith. gen. pl. *žuv-ū* "fish," Arm. *jukn* "fish;" *ὀφρῦς*: Skt. *bhrū-*, etc., above, p. 21, is usually classed as a root-noun (e.g., by Brugmann, Grd. 2, 455), but Osthoff, M.U. iv, 217, and Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 336, take it as a dissyllabic stem, which in Sanskrit, etc., lost its root-vowel through suffixal accent. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, 332, also gives as a root-noun *ἰλῦς* from *ἰ-σλῦς* with prothetic *ι* as in *ἰχθῦς*, comparing L. *lutum*, *polluō*, Grk. *λῦμα*, *λύμη* from *\*σλῦ-μα*. Otherwise Thurneysen, K.Z. 32 (1893), 352.

Brugmann, I.F. 11 (1900), 271 ff., connects *νηδῦς* with L. *abdōmen*, taking it as a compound of *νη-* "down, below," and *δῦ* a root-noun belonging with *δύομαι* "I enter." It has a short final in Callimachus, and on two Bæotian metrical inscriptions, C.I.G. Sept. 2544 and 2545.

*δρῦς* bears the same relation to *δόρυ*, *δρυ-* as Skt. *asita-jñā-* f., "with dark knees," does to Skt. *jānu-jñu-*. See Osthoff, *Parerga*

<sup>1</sup> *μῦς* is an original s-stem, but has in Greek some forms like the *ū*-stems, e.g., acc. sg. *μῦν*, gen. sg. *μῦος* after the analogy of *ὀφρῦν ὀφρῦος*, etc. Cf. Schulze, Q.E. 133 f.

148 ff. Otherwise J. Schmidt, K.Z. 25 (1881), 52. The feminine gender may be secondary, Osthoff, *loc. cit.*, 152. The masculine is found on an inscription from Acarnania in *Eφ. Αρχ.*, 1893, 32. For the word in general cf. Hirt, *Ablaut*, § 772, 151.

The word *ἰγνύς* f. "poples" presumably has the long final, although no metrical proof is at hand. It is evidently to be connected with *γόνυ* (J. Schmidt, *loc. cit. supra* 53) and is exactly parallel to Skt. *asita-jñāt-*. The *ι* is prothetic, and the *-γνύς* bears the same relation to *γόνυ* as *δρῦς* to *δόρυ*.

The feminine oxytone *δελφύς* has presumably the long *ū*, and the cognates make it clear that we have here the suffix *-ū-*, although no other language shows the word with this suffix. *δελφύς*: Skt. *gárbhā-* "fetus," Goth. *kalbō*, O.H.G. *kalba* "female calf," O.E. *cealf*, Eng. *calf*.

*ἰθύς* with long final in Homer is an example of the long *ū* in an oxytone feminine beside the oxytone masculine and neuter adjective with short *u*.

*πληθύς*: *πληῆθος*, *πλήθω*, has long *ū* in Homer, and examples of short final among later writers are doubtful. It is found S.G.D.I. 1479, 18, *πληθύν* Locrian, *Lex Gort.* vi, 52, *πλεθύν* Cretan.

*χέλυσ* presents difficulty. It has a long final in Homeric Hymn to Merc. 33, 153, 242, but a short final in Callim. Hymn to Apollo 16, Oppian H. 5, 404, Aratus 268. It is given as a barytone feminine in short *υ* by Hdn. i, 237, 20. There would be no difficulty in Greek in explaining the long final in the Homeric hymn as due to the same sort of metrical lengthening as seen in a few examples in Homer of a long final in masculine oxytone adjectives in *-ύς*. But it has been plausibly connected (e. g., by Hirt, *Ablaut* 473; Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 [1892], 335; Wiedemann, B.B. 27 [1902], 249 ff.) with O.B. *žely* or *žily* with the same meaning. Kretschmer, *loc. cit.*, 386, attempts to explain the *ū* as due to contraction of a long root-vowel (*ā*, *ē*, or *ō*) with *u*, comparing *χελώνη*. If this connection with *žily* is accepted, the word constitutes the sole exception to the statement made above that no Greek noun except the root-nouns can be shown to have an inherited *ū*.

B. ADJECTIVES

The adjectives in *-us -eia -v* represent the same type (I) that is seen in other languages, but with change in some case-forms, as in the substantives of Class I. While most substantive *u*-stems have been transferred to the long *ū*-declension in Greek, and the declensional Type I of the short *u*-stems is found in only a few substantives, the *u*-stem adjectives retain in Greek this type of declension. The only *v*-stem adjectives (not compounds) not declined after this type are *τέρως* and *φώλως*, and these are known only from glosses and might well be substantives used appositively. (See p. 41.) Liddell and Scott give *μῶλως* gen. *-ως*, but this is simply a mistake. There is nothing to show its declension. Adjective compounds with substantives in *-us -v* as final member are declined like the simplex. Those with adjectives as final member are declined like the simplex, and consequently belong to the type here under discussion. (See under Compounds, pp. 61 f.)

The masculine and neuter of these adjectives in *-us* are declined exactly like the substantives of Class I except in the following particulars: (1) The gen. sg. in good Attic ends in *-εος* not *-εως*, though *-εως* is found in late writers. (2) The nom.-acc. pl. neuter has the open form *-εα* in Attic, and not the close form *-η* of the substantives. Attic inscriptions show the gen. *ῥμίσσεος*, C.I.A. ii, 794, d, 6 (356 B. C.), and the nom.-acc. pl. neuter in *-εα* or *-εια*. Contracted forms in *-η* appear in the second half of the fourth century B. C. beside the forms in *-εα -εια* (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, 150). For the late gen. sg. in *-εως* see Lobeck, Phrynichus 247. The correct reason why the Attic adjective had *-εος* while the substantive had *-εως* is given by Chæroboscus, Gram. Græci iv, 1, 222 (221, g). It is that the presence of the adverb in *-εως* to the same adjective led to a desire to keep the gen. sg. of the adjective and the adverbial form distinct. Another explanation is also offered by Chæroboscus, but it is not so plausible.

Inscriptional evidence for the dialects is not very plentiful. Æolic has the gen. sg. *γλύκεος*, S.G.D.I. 272 = C.I.G. Ins. 68, 10, 13 = Hoffmann, ii, 166, time of the Antonines. Herodian, ii, 710, 9 = Chæroboscus, Dict. 223, 15 declares that the Boeotian

gen. of *ταχύς βραδύς* was not *ταχίος βραδίος* (as we should expect from Boeotian *ι* before a vowel), but he fails to tell us what it was. Arcadian has the nom. pl. neuter *θήλεια*, Ditt.<sup>2</sup> 939, 19. Thera has *τὰ θήλεια*, Cauer<sup>2</sup> 148 C 27. Laconia has *τὰ βραδεία*, Le Bas et Wad. 194 C. Troezen has *βαρέα στενάχοντες* B.C.H. 24 (1900), 179.

The acc. sg. in *-εα* instead of *-υν* is occasionally found. Homer, Il. 6, 291; 9, 72, has *εὔρεα πόντον*, and *εὔρεα κόλπον*, Il. 18, 140; 21, 125. Theocr. 20, 8, 44, has *ἀδέα*. This is simply an extension of the strong grade *-εε-* to a case elsewhere treated as weak. The adjective form is like the Homeric *νία*, p. 32.

All simple (i. e., not compounded) adjectives in *-υς* are oxytone in the masculine and neuter and properispomenon in the feminine except the following: *ἥμισυς*, *θῆλυς*, *μῶλυς*, *πρέσβυς*, *τέρυς*, *φόλυς*, and the Epic forms *ἐλάχεια*, *λίγεια*, *θάλεια*, *θαμειαί*, *ταρφειαί*.

*ἥμισυς* is in origin a substantive, though, it must be said, of a class usually oxytone (above, pp. 50 f.); *μῶλυς* is known only from glosses. Hesychius has *μῶλυς*; Etym. Mag. s. v. *ἀμβλὺς* has *μωλὺς*. Götting, Accentlehre 310, considers the barytone accent wrong. *πρέσβυς* is not an adjective in the positive. *τέρυς* and *φόλυς* belong in declension to Class II and are probably substantives in origin (above, p. 57). The positive *ἐλαχύς* is not in use but is given by grammarians, e. g., Hdn. i, 237, 12, who remarks on the Homeric *ἐλάχεια*. The positive *λίγυς* is in use, e. g., by Pindar, and the feminine *λίγεια* (not *λιγεία*) is prescribed by Arcadius 95, 2. The masculine *θάλυς* to *θάλεια* is not extant. The masculine *ταρφύς* is first found in Æsch. Sept. 535. The masculine *θαμύς* does not occur except in the grammarians, e. g., Bekker, A.G. 563, 8, and Etym. Mag. 75, 15. Aristarchus gives *θαμειαί* and *ταρφειαί*, but Pamphilus gives the forms that would conform to the rule, *θαμείαι* and *ταρφεΐαι*. So K.B., § 145, ii. On the accent of *θῆλυς* see J. Vendryes, Mém. Soc. Ling. 13 (1904), 143.

The Greek adjectives in *-υς* agree in their oxytone accent with the *u*-stem adjectives of the related languages (above, p. 18).

The feminine of adjectives in *-υς* is regularly made in *-εια* and follows the Greek first (*a*) declension. The Ionic regularly has

-*ea*; so almost universally in Herodotus; and this is found beside the other form -*eia* also on Attic inscriptions especially of the fourth century B. C. (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 40). In Homer the form -*ea* is rare, -*eia* being the regular ending. For the forms in Homer see K.B., § 127, 2, ann. 1; for the Ionic see K.B., § 127, 3, and Smyth, Ionic, §§ 506, 219, 419.

The ending -*eia* is from -*εϝια*, i. e., from the strong form of the suffix -*εϝ*- + the feminine-forming suffix -*ια*-, I.E. -*ī*- (*iō*). See above, p. 18, and Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 174. The forms in -*ea* are from -*eia* with loss of the second element of the diphthong. Johansson, K.Z. 30 (1890), 404, takes -*ea* as from -*εϝα* and not from -*εϝια*; but see above, p. 7. Cf. also Smyth, Ionic 198, and Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 40.

The precise process by which -*εϝια* became -*eia* is a matter of dispute. Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 15, 2, and § 51, 1, calls it doubtful, but in his Kurze Gr. § 151, 3, *a*, and 318, 2, he puts it under epenthesis (i. e., *εϝια* > *ειϝα* > *eia*). He is doubtless led to this position by his view of Elean *φυγαδείω*, etc., which he derives from -*ηϝιω*, through -*ηϝω*, thus explaining the shortening of *ηι* to *ει* (Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> Nachträge 573). That epenthesis is the regular process in *αϝι* and *οϝι*, just as in *ανι*, *ονι*, *αρι*, *ορι* (*βαίνω*, etc.) has been generally assumed on the basis of Corinthian *ἀμοιῶάν*, *Διδαίῶον*, though now contested by Danielsson, I.F. 14 (1903), 375 ff. But even if true, this would prove nothing for *εϝι*, since in the case of *ενι*, *ερι* in contrast to *ανι*, etc., there is no epenthesis, but vowel lengthening (*φθειρώ*, *φθήρω*, etc.). For the reason of this difference, see Goidanich, Le Sorti dei gruppi I.E. -*nj*-, -*nj*-, -*rj*-, -*lj*- nell' ellenismo. On the other hand -*eia* cannot come by the same process as *φθειρώ* for \**φθεριώ*, since *ει* is a genuine diphthong. There is no difficulty in assuming that -*εϝια* remained unchanged until the dropping of *ϝ*, thus becoming *eia* without any intervening stage. This is made reasonably certain by Bœotian *Καρυκεῖϊο*, occurring twice, Eφ. Αρχ. 1896, 243, and 1900, 107. The only escape from this conclusion would be to assume that the Bœotian form is from -*εϝιο*- not -*εϝιο*-. This is altogether unlikely. As for Elean *φυγαδείω*, etc., this type need not be for -*ηϝιω*, but can be from -*εϝιω*, with the grade *εϝ*, which

must in any event be admitted (see Schulze, Q.E. 457 ff. and Solmsen, Untersuchungen 72).

A still different view is advanced by Prellwitz, Gött. gel. Anz., 1886, 762, who thinks that the regular phonetic development for the nom. sg. fem. of adjectives in *-us* would have been \**σφαδεῖα* as *παιδεύω* from \**παιδεῖω*, and cites Delphian *τρικτεύαν κήυαν*, Cauer<sup>2</sup> 204, 34 = C.I.A. ii, 545, of the year 380 B. C., as an example of this development. The form *τρικτεύαν* is certainly puzzling, but the great mass of evidence is against Prellwitz' view. *τρικτεύαν* seems to be a feminine to a masc. *τρίκτευος*, perhaps from a form \**τρικτεῦς* (?).

This class of adjectives is much more largely preserved in modern Greek than are the substantives in *-us*, *-v*. The reason is not far to seek. They constituted in classical Greek an important element in the body of adjectives, and there was beside them no large class in *ι* or *η* to cause confusion as in the case of substantives. There has been, however, in modern Greek frequent interchange with adjectives in *-os*, and on the other hand many oxytone adjectives in *-os* have gone over to those in *-us*, perhaps originating in the comparative *-ντερος*, which had gained a wide use, and after which positives in *-us* could be formed. See Hatzidakis, Neugr. Gr. 381; Jannaris Hist. Grk. Gr., §§ 402, 496, 503; Thumb, Neugr. Volkssprache 47, §§ 94, 95.

*Suffix -u- adjectives.*—With this suffix are formed most of the *u*-stem adjectives in Greek. For the accent see above, p. 58. Cognates in the related languages are frequent. For *βαρύς*: Skt. *gurū-*; *ἐλαχύς*: Skt. *raghū-*; *εὔρύς*: Skt. *urū-*; *ῥήδύς*: Skt. *svādū-*; *πλατύς*: Skt. *prthū-*; *πολύς*: Skt. *purū-* (on the vowel of the root see Brug., Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 272; J. Schmidt, K.Z. 32 [1893], 382 f.); *ώκύς*: Skt. *ācū-*; see above, p. 19.

Other examples are: *παχύς*: Skt. *bahū-* "abundant," Lith. *bingūs* "spirited" (of horses) (cf. Brug., Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 545; Prellwitz, B.B. 21 [1896], 286); *κρατύς*: Goth. *hardus* "hard," O.H.G. *hart* "hard," Lith. *kartūs* "bitter;" *πρᾶυς* < \**πρᾶι-υς*: Skt. *prīṭa-* "beloved," *priyā-* "dear," Goth. *frijōn* "love;" *εὔς* has been variously connected with Skt. *vasū-* "good," Skt. prefix *su-* "good," and Skt. *āyū-* "living." The last is given by Collitz, K.Z. 27 (1885), 183, who cites the literature for other views. Cf. also Schulze, Q.E. 33 ff. The etymology of *εὐθύς* *ἰθύς* is uncer-



tain. For various views, none convincing, see Bezzenberger, B.B. 4 (1878), 345 ff.; Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125, 1891) 3; Osthoff, Perf. 534; Thurneysen, K.Z. 30 (1890), 352. Wackernagel, K.Z. 30 (1890), 301 f., takes ἀμβλὺς as "without strength" from *a* privative and \*βλὺς \*μαλὺς connected with μάλα μάλιστα. For an ancient view see Etym. Mag. 79, 5, where it is derived from τὸ μῶλος. δασύς with its intervocalic σ has presented difficulty, and called forth a variety of explanations. Brugmann, Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 748, was inclined to accept G. Meyer's view (Alb. Wörterbuch 65) that δασύς was from \*dntsu-s, \*δατσν- because of Albanian *dent-* "make compact, close." In his Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 122 he goes back to J. Schmidt's view (Kritik 51 f.) that \*dahύς was changed back to δασύς in proethnic Greek after \*δενσος (cf. βένθος : βαθύς) and that afterward δασύς came in for \*δενσος. See the literature cited in Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 122 for other views. In the Ber. sächs. G. d. W., 1901, 92 ff. Brugmann rejects all former explanations and suggests that δασύς is from \*δατύς = \*dntu-s with the change of τυ to σν for which he argues. See above, pp. 50 f. The *t* in this case is a "root-determinative" and the suffix is -u- not -tu-. This is clear both from the L. *denseō* to Alb. *dent*, and from the great infrequency of the suffix -tu- in adjectives.

*Suffix -mu- adjectives.*—This is probable in δριμύς. For the etymology see Osthoff, Etym. Parerga 164, who derives from \*δριμυς and compares with L. *trīs-tis*.

*Suffix -lu- adjectives.*—This is seen in θήλυς: Skt. *dhārū-* "sucking," Skt. *√dhā* "suck," Grk. θηλή. It is not shown for any other Greek adjectives.

*Suffix -tu- adjectives.*—This is not found except in ἥμις, and this is without doubt a substantive in origin. See above, pp. 50 ff.

*Suffix -gu- adjectives.*—For Brugmann's view of ἐγγύς μεσσηγύς see above, p. 54. Breal, Mém. Soc. Ling. 12 (1902), 242, sees in the -γυς of ἐγγύς an old loc. pl. γυσί, from the root γν seen in γυῖον "limb," but this is not probable.

#### C. COMPOUNDS

In compounds where the first member is a noun or adjective in -us, -v, gen. -eos (-εως), the first member always ends in *v*, but

in those where the first member is a noun in *-us*, *-vos* the first member sometimes ends in *υ*, but more often in *υο*, as *ἰχθυ-βόλος* and *ἰχθυό-βρωτος*, etc. See K.B., § 340, 7 C, α, 330.

Nearly all compounds in which the final member is a noun or adjective in *-us* are adjectives. Some few are nouns, and a few are substantivized adjectives. The accent of the compound adjective is proparoxytone, no matter what the accent or quantity of the final of the simplex. Herodian i, 237, 8, simply says that all compound adjectives in *-us* are barytone, citing *ἐπηλυσ*, *νέηλυσ*, *πολύδακρυς*, *μελάνοδρυς*. Cf. Etym. Mag. 246, 11, Eustath. 833, and Schol. Ven. ad Catal. v. 271, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 533. According to Lobeck, Paral. 252, substantives are generally paroxytone. He cites *ἐτυμόδρυς*, *ήμερόδρυς*, *λινόδρυς*, *φελλόδρυς*, *χαμαιίδρυς*, and *χαμαιπίτυς*. The last is more probably proparoxytone, and he himself cites *πρότηρυς* and *ναρδόσταχυς* as substantives. Further, *ψευδαμάμαξυς* and *ψευδατράφαξυς* are not paroxytone.

Of the nouns belonging to Class I, only *πέλεκυς*, *πήχυς*, and *πρέσβυς* are found as the final member in compounds. From *πέλεκυς* we have only *ἐξαπέλεκυς*, frequent in Polybius, from *πήχυς* over thirty compounds, and from *πρέσβυς* only *ισόπρεσβυς*, Æsch. Ag. 78. and *σύμπρεσβυς*. These compounds, when adjectives, have the masculine and feminine in *-us* and the neuter in *-υ*,<sup>1</sup> and are declined like the nouns of Class I.<sup>2</sup> Substantive compounds under this head are rare. A probable example is *σύμπρεσβυς*. The declension is like that of the simplex.

Compounds with nouns in *-us* *-υ*, *-vos* as final member are formed from *ἀμάμαξυς*, *ἄρκυς*, *ἀτράφαξυς*, *βότρυς*, *γένυς*, *γῆρυς*, *δάκρυ*, *δρῦς*, *ἰσχύς*, *ἰχθῦς*, *κίκυς*, *νέκυς*, *οἰζύς*, *ὄφρῦς*, *πίτυς*, *στάχυς*,

<sup>1</sup> This and similar statements below do not imply that every word has both forms and all genders. Some appear only as masculine, some as feminine, and many do not show the neuter form, but the type is as represented.

<sup>2</sup> K.B., § 149, xi, and § 126, anm. 9, give the genitive in *-εος*, and say that they are declined like ordinary adjectives in *-us*, except that in the nom.-acc. pl. neuter they have the close form in *-η*, not the open form in *-εα*. But since in this neuter plural form they agree with the nouns of Class I rather than with the adjectives like *γλυκύς*, the presumption is that the gen. sg. also had the substantive form *-εως* in Attic, unless there is evidence to the contrary, and such I have not been able to find. (The compounds of Class II are declined like nouns of II, not like adjectives; see below.) Hdt. 2, 149, has *τετραπήχεος*, Polybius 5, 89, 6, has *ἀπὸ ἑκκαίδεκαπήχους* . . . *ὀκταπήχους*, but neither shows what Attic usage would be. L. and S. give *καλλίπηχυς*, *λυκόπηχυς*, *ἐξαπέλεκυς*, *τετράπηχυς*, and perhaps others, as having the gen. *-εως*. They give *ἀγλαόπηχυς*, *πεντάπηχυς*, *ἑκκαίδεκάπηχυς* as having the gen. *-εος*—on what grounds, I do not know.

τηθής, φραστός, χέλυσ. Their declension is like that of the simplex. The adjective compounds have the masculine and feminine in -υς, the neuter in -υ. See footnote 1, p. 62.

Compounds with adjectives in -υς as final member are themselves adjectives, and follow the usual declension of adjectives in -υς -εια -υ, except that the feminine in -εια is rare and the form in -υς often does duty both as masculine and feminine. Eustathius 1017, 35 and 833, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 538, takes such forms as ἀμφιδάσεια, ἵπποδάσεια, χαλκοβάρεια (all in use in Homer) as the feminine to adjectives in -υς, and explains the accent by saying that they agree in this with compound adjectives in the masculine, as τραχὺς but ἄτραχυς, ὀξύς but κάτοξυς, θήλυς but ἄθηλυς. Theophrastus, H. Pl. 3, 13, 6, has ἐπιβαρείαν where the Thesaurus would read ἐπιβάρειαν, and for ὀξυγλυκεῖα ῥόα, Pollux 6, 80, the Thesaurus would read ὀξυγλύκεια. The masculine forms in -υς for ἀμφιδάσεια and ἵπποδάσεια do not occur (K.B., § 145, ii), and Lobeck, Phryn. 538, takes these feminine forms rather as parallel to μονογένεια, θεσπιέπεια and similar feminine forms to masculines in -ης. At any rate undoubted instances of the use of the form in -υς as feminine are found, e. g., Theoph. H. Pl. 1, 6, 8, σύνοξυς as feminine.

The following adjectives in -υς are found as the final member of compound adjectives in -υς: ἀμβλὺς, βαθὺς, βαρὺς, βραχὺς, γλυκὺς, δασὺς, δριμὺς, εὐθύς, ἡδὺς, θήλυς, (θρασὺς?), ὀξύς, παχύς, πλατύς, πολὺς, τραχὺς, ὠκύς. Eustathius 340, 21, says that oxytone (adjectives) in -υς when compounded give up their accent if they keep the ending -υς, as δριμὺς ἄδριμυς, τραχὺς ἄτραχυς, but if they keep the accent they change the ending, as ἡδὺς ἀηδής, βαρὺς ἀβαρής, βαθὺς ἀβαθής. This is also the statement of Schol. Ven. ad Catal. v. 271, quoted by Lobeck, Phryn. 533. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*, 539, adds that when adjectives in -υς are compounded with prepositions the ending is retained. Lobeck, *loc. cit.*, 536, suggests as the reason for the use now of -υς now of -ης as the ending the following: "Ego sic judico et statuo, Graecos sub hac conditione terminationem mutasse, si nomen substantivum subjaceret aptum fingendo adjectivo; sin, adjectivi simplicis exitum reliquisset." Lobeck's examples make it plain that he means a

substantive *s*-stem. This is the opinion also of K.B., § 342, *b*, *γ*, 340. The facts bear out Lobeck's view in the main. Aside from the compounds with prepositions, the instances of compounds in *-us* where nouns in *-os* (*-es*) of the same period were well established are of doubtful character.

It is evident from the foregoing that a rather close relation between adjectives in *-us* and noun stems in *-es* exists in Greek. This apparent relation was noticed by the ancients. Thus the writer of Etym. Mag. 210 couples *βάρος* and *βαρύς*; 213, 15, 16, *τάχος* *ταχύς*, *βρίθος* *βριθύς*; 233, 53, 54, *δάσος* *δασύς*, *πάχος* *παχύς*, *γλάφος* *γλαφύς*; 396, 17, *εὔρος* *εὐρύς*, *θράσος* *θρασύς*, *κότος* *κοτύς*, *ἵππος* *ἱππύς*; 535, 41, *κράτος* *κρατύς*, *πλάτος* *πλατύς*. Cf. Fick, B.B. 1 (1877), 245 ff., who gives a list of some twenty-five instances of parallel *s*- and *u*-stems. Th. Aufrecht, K.Z. 34 (1897), 458, has a few examples of the same parallelism in Sanskrit.

Compounds with a dental stem as final member and nom. sg. in *-us* are adjectives or substantivized adjectives. They have the declension of the simplex. Most of them have only the one form in *-us* for the masculine and feminine and no neuter form. Where the neuter does occur, it is late. They are: *ὀρθόκορος* *-υθος*, *τρίκορος* *-υθος*, *ἔπηλυσ*, *υ* *-υδος*, *κάτηλυσ* *-υδος*, *μέτηλυσ* *-υδος*, *νέηλυσ* *-υδος*, *ὄμηλυσ* *-υδος*, *σύννηλυσ* *-υδος*, *σύγκλυσ* *-υδος*. For the compounds in *-ηλυσ* no simplex is extant, but the nature of the compound is clear.

The isolated compounds *αὐτόμαρτυς*, *ιέρομαρτυς*, *ψευδόμαρτυς* are, like the simplex, only apparent *u*-stems and would follow the simplex in declension.

*Hypocoristics in -us*.<sup>1</sup>—There is a considerable class of proper names in *-us* belonging, so far as they are not foreign names, to the hypocoristic type (Kosenamen). See Fick-Bechtel<sup>2</sup> 26; Kretschmer, Vaseninschriften 193, 67, 239; Lobeck, Phryn. 436.

The grammarians report a peculiar type of hypocoristics in *-ūs*, gen. *-ύ*, dat. *ῦ*. See Bekker, A.G. 1195; 857, 7; Herodian ii, 707, 615, 625, 665, i, 236; K.B., § 136, 4, *d*. A gen. *-ῦδος* is

<sup>1</sup> *Καινύς*, *-υδος*, f. proper name, Hdn. i, 237, probably belongs under hypocoristics. In Strabo *Καῖνυς ἡ* has the gen. *-υος*. So also *Πάλμυς*, *-υδος*, Hipponax 15, 4, acc.; *Πάλμυν*, *ibid.*, 30 B. Cf. Hdn. i, 237; Chæroboscus, Bekker, A.G. 1408.

found beside  $\hat{u}$ , e. g., Δεονῦδος I.G.A. 494 from Erythrae, beside the form cited by the grammarians. According to the evidence of the inscriptions this type with  $\hat{u}$ -ῦδος is late, Meisterhans<sup>2</sup> 139. In earlier times were found only forms of the usual declension as Boeotian Δέρμνι, S.G.D.I. 875.

*Dental stems with nom. sg. in -us.*<sup>1,2</sup>—A list of such names is here presented on the ground that this type may have absorbed some *u*- or  $\bar{u}$ -stems, parallel to the absorption of *i*-stems by nouns in  $\hat{i}\delta$ , though there is much less evidence for such absorption here, and further because of the occasional interchange with *u*-stem forms, as κόρυν, etc. For the compounds see above.

ἀγλῦς, -ῦθος, Hdn. i, 238, feminine oxytone in long  $\bar{u}$ , but probably a mistake for ἀγνῦς; cf. Lentz, *ad loc.*, and Coeroboscus 359 *g* = Gram. Græci iv, 1, p. 232; ἀγνῦθες, Hdn. ii, 763, oxytone in long  $\bar{u}$  declined in  $\hat{\theta}\sigma$ ; δαγῦς, -ῦδος Theocr. 2, 110, v. l. δατύς; ἐμύς, -υδος, ἡ see Bonitz, Index Arist., Lexicon de spiritibus 217 has ἐμύς, others ἔμυς, e. g., Theognost. Cramer, Anecd. Ox. ii, 6, 4; κατήρυδες, Hesychius only; κλύδα, Nicander Al. 170; κοκρύδων· ληστῶν· κλεπτῶν, Hesych. only; κόρυς, -υθος. ἡ Homer; κροκῦς, -υδος feminine in short  $\hat{u}$  Hdn. i, 237; κῶμυς, -ῦθος, *ibid.*, πηλαμύς, -υδος, *ibid.*, feminine in short  $\hat{u}$ ; σμινύδας Pollux x, 173, on the basis of this form and Hesychian σμινύη· δικάλλαν and σμινύης· σμινύη, Lobeck, Phryn. 302, and the Thesaurus give the form σμινύς, -υδος; χηραμύς, -υδος v. l. in Hippocr. and Strabo for χηραμύς, -ιδος, ἡ; χλαμύς, -υδος, feminine in short  $\hat{u}$ , Hdn. i, 237.

Instances of interchange between *u*-stems and dental stems are: κόρυν for κόρυθα, Il. 13, 132; 16, 215; χλάμυν for χλάμυδα, Sappho 64; ἀμαμάξυδες for ἀμαμάξυες, Sappho (Etym. Mag. 77, 1).

Other stems (not dental) with forms similar to *u*-stem forms are: κίνδυι, dat. sg. Sappho, Fr. 161 (cf. Etym. Mag. 574, 42), as if from κίνδυσ; Μόσσυς, nomen propr., pl. Μόσσυνες and Μόσσυνι, see Lobeck, Paral. 138; φόρυς, ὄρυς and the nomen propr. Γόρυς have the gen. sg. in  $\hat{u}\nu\sigma$ ; the nom. sg. Τίρυς for the more usual Τίρυνς has the gen. sg. Τίρυνθος; Hesychius has βρέκυν· τὸν βρέκυντα; μάρτυς has gen. sg. μάρτυρος.

<sup>1</sup> ἐργότρυς, Heysch. only, is placed by Lobeck, Paral. 254, alongside ἐπηλυσ, etc.; on what grounds I do not know.

<sup>2</sup> ἰβυς, Hesych. only, is thought to have the gen.  $\hat{u}\nu\sigma$  because of the Hesychian gloss, ἰβυδῆνας· τοὺς εὐφημοῦντας. ἰβὺς γὰρ ἡ εὐφημία.

## NOTES IN EXPLANATION OF THE WORD-LISTS, ETC.

The lists of *u*-stems here presented will no doubt require addition and correction, but are believed as they stand to be reasonably complete. They do not include:

(1) Foreign words. E. g., Hesychius gives ἀβαρύ and ἀρφύς as Macedonian, ἄγλυ and καραρύες as Scythian (καραρύες· οἱ Σκυθικοὶ οἴκοι . . .), ἰβύ and μωύς as Lydian, λίλυ as Libyan; Plutarch gives λάβρυν as Lydian for πέλεκυς, and Clem. Alex. gives βέδν as Phrygian for ὕδωρ. The Thesaurus gives μακρύς as a *forma graecobarbara* for μακρός.

(2) Obvious figments. E. g., ἀχύς is set up by Etym. Mag. 182, 1, as an intermediate form between ἄχος and ἀχνύς. The scholiast on Il. 13, 521 coins ἦπυς and βρήπυς to account for βριήπυος, an *o*-stem. But cf. Schulze, Q.E. 337, on ἦπυς, and see his list for other possible *u*-stems. Etym. Mag. 430, 20 coins ἴσυς to go with ἡμισυς, and 626, 51 ξοῦς in explaining ὀξύς. The grammarians also cite μικύς and μινύς. Bekker, A.G. 1096, has φύς to explain ὄσφύς. Cramer, Anecd. Ox. has νέκις as the form from which νέκυσ is derived. Perhaps δίκτυ (p. 43) should be classed here, as well as γλαφύς adj. Etym. Mag. 233, 54.

(3) Mere dialectic variants like γισχύν·ισχύν, Hesych., βίσχυν or βισχύν·ισχύν Hesych. and Bekker, A.G.; βαῖδύς, Elean for ἡδύς in Pausanias; βροδόπαχς, Sappho 65.

(4) Forms set up without good reason. Such are: δένδρν- (see p. 27), γένν cited by Passow but not found (see Lobeck, Paral. 254), οἰσύς σιπύς and perhaps σμινύς (but see p. 65, a dental stem) set up by Lobeck, Phryn. 302, and κῶϋ, see p. 27.

(5) Indeclinable exclamations, cries, etc. Such are: ἰϋ, μύ or μῦ, κόκκῦ, κνῦ· τὸ ἐλάχιστον, Hesych., cf. Danielsson, Studien i, 54; γρῦ, ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ ὄνυχι ῥύπος, ἥδη δὲ καὶ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, Hesych., cf. Danielsson, loc. cit., Kretschmer, K.Z. 31 (1892), 342, Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125) 16; ἄρρν· ἐπίφθεγμα κωπηλατικόν, Hesych.

(6) Mere errors. Some probable errors are given in the lists, but the following are not there cited: τριπτύς, p. 48; αὐτό-ῥδν, v. l. in Aristotle, Top. 6, 8, 7, but not now read; ἐλεντύν· ἔλαιον, Hesych., for ἐλεγτύν· ἔλεον; δορατοπαχύς, ἑτεροπαχύς, νευροπαχύς, δορυθρασύς, εὐθαράσύς, the last in Etym. Mag., s. v. ἀτρεκής, are shown to be wrong forms for δορατοπαχής, etc., by Lobeck, Phryn. 535; cf. above, p. 63.

(7) Proper names. Here Ἐρινύς is an exception, and there are some other words cited only by grammarians about which I am in doubt. These are included in the lists.

(8) Adverbs. ἐγγύς and its compounds were admitted to the lists as having adjectival forms outside the positive. Other adverbs which are probable evidence for *u*-stems are: πρόχυν to γόνυ (cf. Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 571, 108); ἀντικρύ (ἀντικρύς) (Attic inscriptions ἀπαντροκύ and καταντροκύ, Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 81) connected by Meringer, Beiträge (Wiener Akad. 125) 16, and Bréal, Mém. Soc. Ling. 12 (1902), 243, with the words for "horn, head," Grk. κέρας, L. cornū, etc.

There are other adverbs in -vs or -v or -vi, but these are either from original pronominal stems in *v* like Rhod. ᾧπῦς, Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 49, Grd. i<sup>2</sup>, 183, or are after the analogy of such stems, or else have a particle *v* added as in πᾶν πάγχυ, Brug., Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup> 257. See lists in Hdn. i, 506, 18; Bekker, A.G. 1341; Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, and cf. also ἀμύς · ὁμοῦ σὺν αὐτῷ, Hesych., τυνῷ Cretan, Mon. Ant. iii, n. 13 (an uncertain word, Searles, Lex. Stud.), and πλίυι L.G. xi, 23. For Æolic forms in -vi see Hoffmann, G.D. ii, 426.

With the exceptions above noted and allowing for possible oversight, this collection includes all the *u*-stems cited in Liddell and Scott,<sup>1</sup> in numerous indices, and in Hesychius. It also aims to include the dialectic and epigraphical material up to 1904. All words in the Collitz Sammlung, including the recent Cretan number, have been collected, and this material has been supplemented from the indices of the various volumes of the Corpus, the indices of Dittenberger Sylloge<sup>2</sup>, Kern Inschr. v. Magn., from reading the inscriptions published in the chief epigraphical journals of recent years, from Miss Searles' Lexicographical Study of Greek Inscriptions, and from Herwerden's Lexicon Graecum Suppl. et Dialecticum 1902. I also consulted the chief papyrus publications, but the results here were barren. Gradenwitz, Einführung in die Papyruskunde (Leipzig, 1900), cites a form ὀψύς from the Berlin papyri, but it is not to be found in the place cited.

In general no attempt is made to give the author or period, but for rare words (except compounds), especially ἄπαξ λεγόμενα, the source is given. The use of a name after a word with no remark implies that the word is found only in that writer. (I have relied on the Thesaurus for citations, and where it has erred, I have erred with it.) Words which rest solely on emendation are

<sup>1</sup>For the words in Liddell and Scott I have had access to the lists according to suffix prepared by the late Dr. W. A. Stratton for his projected history of Greek noun-formation. These lists have, by the courtesy of Mrs. Stratton, been left in the care of Professor Buck.

underlined. Words not found in the Thesaurus are marked with a dagger. Where glosses indicate dialect, this is given.

The order of arrangement is by suffix, i. e., in alphabetical order according to the ending, except that compounds under a simplex are in the *usual* alphabetical order. Figures immediately after a word refer to pages of this dissertation. Only those places considered most important are thus referred to, and the index is not intended to be complete in this respect.



## WORD-LISTS

### A. NOUNS IN -us -u, -eos (-εως) WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS

πρέσβυς 54, 27 f.	δυοκαικεκοσίπηχυς	όκτωκαϊδεκάπηχυς
ισόπρεσβυς Æsch. Ag. 78	δωδεκάπηχυς ογ δυδεκάπηχυς	όκτώπηχυς ογ όκτάπηχυς
σύμπρεσβυς	εικοσίπηχυς	παράπηχυ· ιμάτιον Hesych., Pollux
νίυς 29-35	εϊνάπηχυς = έννεάπηχυς	παράπηχυς
†πέλεκυ 41, Hesych.	εκακιδεκάπηχυς	πεντάπηχυς
πέλεκυς 41, 27 f.	εκηπηχυς = έξάπηχυς	πεντεκαϊδεκάπηχυς
έξάπέλεκυς	ελεφαντόπηχυς	πεντηκοντάπηχυς
έγγχελυς 27, 54	ένδεκάπηχυς	πολύπηχυς
γόνυ 35 f. gen. -φος, not -εος	ένενηκοντάπηχυς	ρόδοπηχυς
δόρυ 35 f. gen. -φος, not -εος	ένεάπηχυς = εϊνάπηχυς	τεσσαρωντάπηχυς
σώρυ 28	έξάπηχυς = εκηπηχυς	τετράπηχυς
μίσυ 28, more probably under -υς -υος	έξηκοντάπηχυς	τριακονταπεντάπηχυς
άστυ 44, 50	έπίπηχυς	τριακοντάπηχυς
πήχυς 41	έπτάπηχυς	τριημίπηχυς
άγλαόπηχυς	εύπηχυς	τριπηχυς
άργυρόπηχυς	ισόπηχυς	τρισκαϊδεκάπηχυς
δεκάπηχυς	καλλιπηχυς	†χρυσόπάχυς Bacchyl. V, 40
δίπηχυς	λευκόπηχυς	πώυ 28, 41
	όγδοηκοντάπηχυς	

### B. NOUNS IN -us -u, -υος WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS<sup>1</sup>

ιβυς· εύφημία, στιγμή Hesych.	κόρυς Theocr.	όλους ό
Perhaps gen. -υδος 65, footnote 2	ιχθύς ό 55	μόλυς Hdn. II, 938, 17
λίβυς· τών όφείων τινες . . . Hesych. <i>et al.</i>	άνιχθυς	†άπολύ· δαίμων ή θυσία. ζώντες όμφακες Hesych., but out of alphabetical order and very doubtful
φόρυ· τά ούλα. 'Ηλείοι Hesych.	άπιχθυς (άπιχθύς)	άχλύς 53
στλέγγυς 55, Theophr. H. Pl. 8, 4, 3	εύιχθυς	μώλυ
†λγνύς Cram. An. Ox. II, 303, 11.	κάλλιχθυς	{ κρέμυς Aristotle <i>ap.</i> Athen. 305a
άγνυς· άγγος. Κρητικόν Hesych.	πολύιχθυς	{ χρέμυς· ό νόστος ιχθύς Hesych. 305a
νγδύς 55	φίλιχθυς	κλεμνύς Anton. Lib., c. 32
†όιδύς Cram. An. Ox. II, 303, 11	βέλεκυς· όσπριόν τι . . . Hesych.	όάνυς· ένεδραι Hesych., mistake for θράνυς· έδραι Schmidt
γοιδύς· ρυτήρες Hesych. Same as preceding? Cf. γισχύν· ισχύν	νέκυς 42	ίγνυς 56
κάνδυς ό	κίκυς 42	λιγνύς 53
κόνδυ	άικυς	γείνυς 42
κόρυς· πανούργος Hesych.	σίκυς· ό γραφεύς Hesych.	άμφίγεινυς· άξινη Hesych.
όϊζύς 53 (ωϊζύς Hesych.)	κόκκυς· λώφος Hesych.	μακρόγεινυς Adamant. Phys. 396
πάνοϊζύς Æsch. Cho. 49	άρκυς 42	μικρόγεινυς Adamant. Phys. 2, 17
†τρίσοϊζύς Etym. Mag. and Etym. Gud.	πολύαρκυς Oppian Cyn. 4, 10	α· όξύγεινυς Pollux 2, 97
βράθυ	μίμαρκυς Aristoph. Athen., etc.	χαλκόγεινυς Pind. Pyth. 4
μέθυ 42, 13	κέρκυ unintelligible gloss, Hesych.	έλινύς Etym. Mag. and Polybius
γήθυ = γήθυον	άλυς	Έρινύς nomen propr. θρήνυς ό 53
πληθύς 56	άναβλύς· πηγαί Hesych.	
ιθύς 56, Homer	χέλυς 56	
†θριθύς· ό ισχυρός Cram. An. Ox. II, 303, 11.	χρυσόχελυς C.I.G. 5039, 1	
	έγγχελυς 27 (cf. -υς, -εος)	
	ιλύς (είλύς) 55	
	κοίλυ· τó καλόν 42, Hesych.	
	έλλυς· ζώα έν . . . ποταμώ Hesych.	
	σκόλλυς ό	

<sup>1</sup> μνύς original s-stem, 55, footnote.

τρήνν Cram. An. Ox. II, 120, 34  
 ἵκύνν· πίσμα, τὸ ἀπὸ στεμφύλων  
 ποτόν. Κύπριοι Hesych.  
 ἀχινύς· ἡ λύπη Etym. Mag. 182, 1  
 ἀμάμαξιν ἡ  
 ψευδαμάμαξιν ὁ Arist. Vesp.  
 326  
 ἀτράφαξιν  
 ψευδατράφαξιν Arist. Eq. 630  
 ιξύς  
 κάπνυ· πνεῦμα, κήπος Hesych.  
 νάπνυ = σίνηπνυ  
 ράπνυ (ράφνυ), see Athen. 369b  
 σίνηπνυ  
 ἄρπνυ· ἔρωτα, Αἰολεῖς 42, He-  
 sych., Etym. Mag. 148, 33  
 (Parthenius)  
 βαρύ· θυμιαμάτιόν τι εὐώδες Bek-  
 ker, A.G. 225, 16  
 βαρύς· δένδρα Hesych.  
 δρῦς 55  
 ἄδρυν Pindar, Fr. 23, 126  
 ἱγεράνδρυν· αἱ παλαιαὶ δρῦες  
 . . . Hesych.  
 ἐνάιδρυν, see Lobeck, Paral.  
 252  
 ἐτυμόδρυν Theophr. H. Pl. 3,  
 8, 2, and Hesych.  
 ἡμερόδρυν· εἶδος δρῦος Hesych.  
 λινόδρυν  
 φελλόδρυν  
 χαμαιδρυν  
 χιδρυν· ὄνομα δειλόν Hesych.  
 μελάνδρυν ὁ  
 γέρυν· γέρων Hesych.  
 βῆρυν· ἰχθύς Hesych.  
 γῆρυν, 42  
 βροτόγρυν Anth. Pal. 9, 562  
 ἐρίγρυν· μεγαλόφωνος He-  
 sych.  
 εὐγρυν  
 καλόγρυν Suidas s. v. κρή-  
 γυν  
 μελιχόγρυν Tyrst. 3, 8  
 μελίγρυν  
 ποικιλόγρυν Pind. Ol. 3, 12  
 τετράγρυν  
 τονθρῦς· φωνή Hesych.  
 ὀθρυν. Κρήτες τὸ ὄρος Hesych.  
 δάκρυν 53 f.  
 ἄδακρυν  
 ἀκριτόδακρυν  
 ἀναγκόδακρυν  
 ἀπειρόδακρυν Æsch. Suppl. 75  
 ἀρίδακρυν  
 ἀρτίδακρυν

βαρύδακρυν  
 γλυκύδακρυν  
 ἐνδακρυν  
 ἐπιδάκρυν Suidas and Hesych.  
 ἐτοιμόδακρυν  
 ἱερόδακρυν Athen. 14, 651 f.  
 παράδακρυν Diosc. 4, 124  
 περιδακρυν  
 ποικιλόδακρυν  
 πολύδακρυν  
 σύνδακρυν  
 ἴσυντομόδακρυν Tzetz. (L. & S.).  
 ταχύδακρυν Lucian, Navig.,  
 c. 2  
 ὑπόδακρυν Hesych. s. v. γλαμυ-  
 ρόν  
 φιλόδακρυν  
 ἄμμακρυν· τὸ ἀπαρχῆς—Hesych.  
 ὄρυν Hdt. 4, 192  
 βόρυν Hdt. 4, 192  
 καρορύς· ὕδρα, Κρήτε(ς) Hesych.  
 φόρυν· δακτύλιος ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἑδραν  
 Hesych.  
 βότρυν ὁ 53  
 ἀγλαόβοτρυν Nonn. Dion. 18, 4  
 ἐλίβοτρυν· ἀμπελὸς τις μέλαινα  
 Hesych.  
 εὐβοτρυν  
 καλλιόβοτρυν Soph. Oed. Col.  
 682  
 μικρόβοτρυν Hesych. s. v. μι-  
 κρό(ρ)ωξ  
 ποικιλόβοτρυν Nonn. Dion. 5,  
 279  
 πολύβοτρυν  
 φερέβοτρυν Nonn. Dion. 19, 53  
 φιλόβοτρυν  
 ἐργότρυν· κατάσκοπος ἔργων He-  
 sych.  
 φέρτρυν· ἄθλον. Θούριοι Hesych.  
 μάστρυν Photius s. v. ματρυνεῖον  
 ὄστρυν<sup>1</sup> Theophr. and Pliny  
 ὀδρῦς 55  
 ἀντόφρυν· βοτάνης εἶδος He-  
 sych.  
 δασοφρυν Adamant. Phys.  
 εὐοφρυν  
 κατόφρυν  
 κυνάφρυν Theocr.  
 λευκοφρυν  
 λύκοφρυν Diosc. Noth. 3, 117  
 μελάνοφρυν Hesych. et al.  
 μίξοφρυν  
 σύνοφρυν  
 ὑπέροφρυν  
 χρύσοφρυν

ἰκάχρυν  
 ἰκάχρυν 53  
 ὥρυν (see -ν, -εος)  
 μίσν (cf. also -ν, -εος)  
 σὺς (ὕς)  
 σάπνυ  
 θατύς· θεωρία 49, Hesych.  
 ἱατύς· θεραπεία Hesych.  
 πλάτνυ Hesych., error for πλά-  
 τινς?  
 βλήτνυ· αἱ βδέλλαι Hesych.  
 ἱέρετνυ 48 (?) Mon. Ant. III, 67  
 ὀργητνυ· ὀργή Hesych.  
 ἐδητνυ  
 ἐγητνυ· ἀγαθότης Hesych.  
 ἐλεητνυ  
 ποθητνυ Oppian C. 2, 609  
 ἀλητνυ  
 ἀλαλητνυ  
 βαλλητνυ Hesych. and Athen.  
 ἀβολητνυ Bekker, A.G. 322, 9  
 δωμητνυ· κατασκευή Hesych.  
 βοητνυ Od. 1, 369  
 ἐπητνυ Homer, Suidas  
 ἀγορητνυ Od. 8, 168  
 ὠρητνυ· πῆρως Hesych.  
 παρητνυ  
 ἱποπητνυ· τὸ πίνειν Hesych.  
 ἀντιμαχητνυ (ἀντιμαχηστνυ)  
 Eratosth.  
 ἴτνυ 50  
 δαιτνυ Homer  
 κλειτνυ (κλειτνυ) 44  
 μίτνυ 43, Aristotle, H.A. 9, 40, 10  
 πίτνυ 44  
 ἡμερόπιτνυ Hesych. s. v. μή-  
 κωνες, acct. -πίτνυ  
 χαμαιπίτνυ  
 φίτνυ 43  
 φίτνυ 43  
 ἀρπακτνυ Callim. Apoll. 94  
 πρακτνυ Etym. Mag. 316, 34  
 τετρακτνυ  
 ἱτακτνυ<sup>2</sup>  
 ῥυστακτνυ Homer, Eustath.  
 ἱόρεκτνυ· (ὄρεξις) Hesych.  
 ἱκτνυ· εἰκὼν Cram. An. Ox. II,  
 16, 2  
 δίκτνυ 43, Etym. Mag. 275, 25  
 δίκτνυ 43, Hdt. 4, 192  
 ἐπεικτνυ· . . . σπουδὴ Hesych.  
 τρικτνυ = τριτνυ 49  
 θελκτνυ 48, Apoll. Rh. I, 575  
 ἱεπισμυκτνυ· ἐπισμυκτηρισμόν 48  
 Hesych.  
 δωκτνυ Callim. Dian. 194

<sup>1</sup> οἰστρῦς Lobeck, Phryn. 302, a mistake for ὄστρυν?

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Brugmann, Ber. schs. G. d. W., 1901, 95, but I have not been able to find occurrence.

- †φλεγμαντός v. l. in Hippocr. 8, 96  
 †ἀμφαντός 48, Lex Gort. XI, 21, 22  
 πεντακοιντός (?) Schol. Od. 3, 7  
 ὀτρυντός Homer and glosses  
 γραπτός  
 χαλεπτός· χαλεπότης Hesych.  
 μάρπτης· ὑβριστής Hesych.  
 ἀρτὺς· σύνταξις, φιλία . . . Hesych.  
 ἀποδοατός· ἀπομερισμός Hesych.  
 γραμβασίας· γέλιος ὁ μετὰ παιδιᾶς Hesych. (κρ- L. & S.)  
 κρεμβασιᾶς Homeric Hymn Apoll. 162  
 χιλιαστός 48 (= χιλιοστός)  
 γελαστός Callim. Del. 329  
 καταπλαστός Hdt. 4, 75  
 μαστός Callim. Fr. 277  
 ἀπαστός· ἀπαστία Etym. Mag. 118, 50  
 ἀσπαστός Callim. Fr. 427  
 φραστός· σκέψις, ἐννοία . . . Hesych.  
 ἀφραστός poet ap. Suidas  
 αἰεστὺν· τὴν αἰώνιον οὐσίαν . . . Hesych.  
 †ἀκαστός<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀπεστὺς· ἀποχώρησις Hesych.
- μνηστός Homer  
 δεινηστὺν· τὴν τοῦ δειπνοῦ ὥραν Hesych.  
 ὀρχηστός  
 ληϊστός Hdt. 5, 6  
 σωφρονιστός Plato, Legg. 933, c  
 κιθαριστός  
 ὀαριστός Homer, Hesych.  
 κτιστός Hdt. 9, 97  
 ἀκοντιστός Il. 23, 622  
 †ἀποκοντιστός<sup>2</sup>  
 ξιστός· μαχαιομαχία . . . Hesych.  
 χιλιοστός 48  
 πεντεχιλιοστός Ecl.  
 μυριοστός 48  
 πεντακοιστός 48, Etym. Mag.  
 πεντηκοστής 48  
 ἑκατοστός 48  
 τανυστός Od. 21, 112  
 ῥόπνυστός 48, S.G.D.I. 4971  
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 τριττός 49  
 μόττης· οἱ εἰ[γ]κλυτοὶ καὶ παρε- μένοι 43, Hesych.  
 ῥόιστεντός Callim. Apoll. 42  
 ἀλωτός Homer, Hesych.  
 δωτός Suidas  
 ζωτός· θωράξ 48, Hesych., per- haps for \*ζωστίς?  
 βρωτός
- γλάφυ Hesiod. Op. 533, He- sych.  
 λα[ι]φύς· δάπανος ἢ βορός He- sych.  
 νάφν (see νάφν)  
 δελφύς 56  
 ὀλόφν· οἶκτος, ἔλεος . . . He- sych.  
 ὀσφύς  
 ἴτυφνς Cram. An. Ox. II, 264, 6, nomen propr.?  
 στράχυν late for στάχυν  
 στάχυν ὁ, and ἀσταχυν ὁ  
 ἀγασταχυν  
 εὐσταχυν  
 καλλίσταχυν  
 κολοβάσταχυν Diosc.  
 μικρόσταχυν (?)  
 μυρίοσταχυν  
 ναρόσταχυν  
 πολύσταχυν  
 φερέσταχυν  
 κόχυν· πολὺ, πλήθος Hesych., subst. (?)  
 ἀσχν Hdt. 4, 23, Cram. An. Ox. II, 79, 120  
 ισχύς  
 ἀνίσχυς  
 αὐτοίσχύς  
 μῶν· τὸ ὕδωρ Hesych., prob- ably foreign

## C. ADJECTIVES IN -υς -υ, -εος WITH THEIR COMPOUNDS

- πρᾶύς 60  
 ταύς· μέγας, πολὺς Hesych., from \*tisu-s, /ten "stretch" ?  
 πρέσβυς not adj. in positive. See nouns in -υς, -εος  
 ἐγγύς adv. 61  
 πάρεγγυς adv.  
 σύνεγγυς adv.  
 λιγύς 58  
 βραδύς  
 εὐς 60  
 ἡδύς 60, 19  
 ὑπερῆδνς  
 ἀβᾶθς  
 ἀβᾶθς error for ἀβαθής, see Lobeck, Phryn. 534  
 προβαθύς  
 ἰθύς seo εὐθύς  
 βριθύς  
 εὐθύς 60 f.  
 μεσενθύς Clom. Alex.
- γλυκύς  
 ἐπίγλυκνς Theophr. II. Pl. 3, 18, 10  
 ὀξύγλυκν  
 περίγλυκνς Elian N. A. 15, 7  
 ὑπόγλυκνς Athen. 14, 625a  
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 †ποδῶκνς = ποδῶκης  
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 θῆλυς 61  
 ἀθῆλυς Plutarch  
 ἀνδρόθῆλυς  
 ἀρσενόθῆλυς  
 ἡμιθῆλυς Carm. Anacr. 13, 2  
 μιζόθῆλυς  
 πάνθῆλυς Etym. Mag.  
 παράθῆλυς (?)<sup>3</sup>  
 ὑπόθῆλυς Aristoph. Frag.
- φιλόθῆλυς  
 εἰλύ· μέλαν Hesych.  
 πολύς 60, 19  
 ἀπολύς  
 πάμπολυς  
 ὑπερπολύς  
 φόλυς 41, 57, decl. in -νός  
 μῶλυς· ὁ ἀμαθής 57, Hesych.  
 μωλύς Etym. Mag., s. v.  
 ἀμβλύς  
 ἀμωλύς Etym. Mag., loc. cit.  
 θαμύς 58  
 δριμύς 61  
 ἀδριμνς Enstath. 276, 2  
 ὑπερδριμνς Schol. Luc. D. D. 7, 3  
 ὑπάδριμνς Galen  
 μάν· μικρόν. Ἀθαμάνες Hesych., εὐνν· ἐστερημένον Hesych., prob. error for εὐνν  
 ὀξύς  
 ἀποξύς

<sup>1</sup> Cited by Pape, Etym. Wörterbuch, as poetic and = "Heilung," but I have not found its occurrence.

<sup>2</sup> Given by Brugmann, Gr. Gr.<sup>3</sup>, § 220, a mistake for ἀκοντιστός ?

<sup>3</sup> Thesaurus s. v. πάνθῆλυς cites παράθῆλυς from Hesychius, but I do not find it.

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ὁ βραχύ (?)

κατὰ βραχύ (?)

th. 340, 21

δ  
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Hesych.

ες Hesych. adj.  
Cf. nouns n

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